RELIEF AFTER HARDSHIP

The Ottoman Turkish Model for *The Thousand and One Days*

ULRICH MARZOLPH

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The Ottoman Turkish Model for *The Thousand and One Days*

Based on Andreas Tietze's Unpublished
German Translation of the Anonymous
Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Turkish
Ferec baʿd eş-şidde

Ulrich Marzolph

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Preface

The present book should have been written long ago and actually by somebody else than the present author. It was the Austrian scholar of Ottoman Studies Andreas Tietze who introduced the anonymous fifteenth-century compilation *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* to international Orientalist and Folk Narrative Studies in the 1950s. Tietze not only planned to publish an edition of the book's Ottoman text together with a complete German translation. He also intended to write a detailed commentary to the tales, their sources and corresponding versions, and their impact on international tradition. The edition of the Ottoman text was eventually published by Tietze's friend and collaborator György Hazai; but the larger part of Tietze's translation still remains unpublished, and his commentary never materialized. In the past decades, the Ottoman work has been studied from various aspects. Of particular interest for the general public is the relation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* to the French collection of tales *The Thousand and One Days*, published at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the French scholar of Oriental studies François Pétis de la Croix. Several of the book's single tales have been studied in some detail, but a comprehensive commentary to all of the tales is still lacking. Although the introduction to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and its tales offered here probably differs from what Tietze himself might have had in mind, the present book attempts to fill the gap by offering a detailed assessment of the Ottoman work in the context of Middle Eastern, and particularly Persian, narrative tradition.

The narrative tradition of the Muslim Middle East encompasses a fair variety of languages, in the first place Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Arabic narrative literature, internationally best known through *The Thousand and One Nights*, is documented since the advent of Islam at the beginning of the seventh century CE. Major collections in Arabic, many of them as yet unknown to the general public, have been compiled prior to the Mongol invasion in the middle of the thirteenth century, and numerous works of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods preserve narrative material from previous works now lost. Persian narrative compilations of the Muslim period are second in terms of chronology, with major works dating from the eleventh century onward. While particularly compilations of jocular narratives draw substantially on previous Arabic texts, folk and fairy tales in the Persian-language compilations of the Muslim period might also preserve material from the pre-Islamic period, when historical and mythical tales were held in high esteem. It is even tempting to presume that the Persian tales are to some extent heirs to the original repertoire of the Iranian compilation *Hizār afsān* (A thousand tales [of magic]), the work whose Arabic translation became *The Thousand and One Nights*. Ottoman Turkish literature, documented since the end of the thirteenth century, in its turn draws on both Persian and Arabic sources. At the same time, Ottoman Turkish literature gains a special prominence due to its potential of transmitting the narrative heritage of the Muslim world to the West. This process of transmission relates particularly to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Western missions explored the Muslim world, then to a large part under Ottoman dominion, in view of diplomatic or commercial relations. Seen from this perspective, the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* opens a window into the shared narrative tradition of the Muslim world in general and its impact on Western tradition, where famous adaptations such as Giacomo Puccini's opera *Turandot* (1926) owe their existence to Pétis de la Croix's adapted translation of the Ottoman Turkish text.

The present author is deeply indebted to the late György Hazai, Andreas Tietze's close colleague and friend, and his collaborator Heidi Stein for sending me Tietze's unpublished translation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and for permitting me to use it for the present study. Sadly, Hazai, who had

envisaged publishing the present study in his journal *Archivum Ottomanicum*, did not live to see the final version. He passed away in January 2016. The heirs to the joint estate of Tietze and Hazai kindly confirmed the permission to use Tietze's unpublished translation.

For precious advice at various points of my study, I would like to thank the three anonymous readers of my manuscript as well as Helga Anetshofer, Ingeborg Baldauf, Cristina Bacchilega, Kimberly Lau, Mahmoud Omidsalar, Raymonde Robert, Heidi Stein, Johannes Thomann, and several other colleagues whose names are mentioned in the relevant places. As the annotation to a historical collection of tales will never be complete, the present author looks forward to future additions that the book's readers might suggest.

Introduction

Les mille et un jours: Contes persans (henceforth *1001 Days*), published by the French author François Pétis de la Croix (1653–1713) in 1710–1712, is largely an adapted translation of tales, episodes, or elements that have been selected and rearranged from the fifteenth- or late fourteenth-century anonymous Ottoman Turkish compilation *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* (Relief after hardship),[1] a book most of whose tales have been translated from one or several representatives of the Persian collections of entertaining and instructive tales classified under the generic title *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (Collection of tales).[2] Although the general circumstances of the related process of transmission have been studied, numerous questions concerning the origin of the tales and the way they traveled from Persian (or Persian versions of tales from Arabic tradition) via Ottoman Turkish to French remain to be discussed in detail. Above all, the study of the complex links between the three books or genres of books from three different cultures and language groups—the French *Mille et un jours*, the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, and the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*—implies a number of unsolved issues, mainly relating to the different degree to which the works have been studied and to the questions that have guided previous research.

Pétis de la Croix's *1001 Days* has mainly been studied as the work of early eighteenth-century French literature that (in competition with and following Antoine Galland's *Mille et une nuit*, 1704–1717) inaugurated the vogue of *contes de fées* in the Oriental manner.[3] The efforts of exclusively

European scholars investigating the sources of the *1001 Days* in either the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* or the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* that form the basis of the present contribution have so far not resulted in studies considering those compilations as deserving a detailed assessment of their narrative contents in their own right.

The first copy of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* known to have reached a Western library was acquired for the Royal Library in Paris by Antoine Galland (1646–1715). During his first foreign mission (1670–1675), Galland was not yet the accomplished scholar whose enduring international fame rests on his rendering of the fifteenth-century manuscript of the Arabic *Alf layla wa-layla* (The thousand and one nights) and additional material, presented in French as *Les mille et une nuit* (1704–1717). As a young man, Galland had arrived in Constantinople in the company of the newly appointed French ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Charles Marie François Olier, marquis de Nointel (1635–1685). Galland's travel diaries have been preserved for the years 1672 and 1673 and have been copiously edited by Charles Schefer. They inform us that he bought his copy of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* (a title he writes in Arabic characters) on January 9, 1673, following a suggestion by the local booksellers.[4] Already his first assessment of the book as containing tales in which the actors live through various surprising experiences "assés élégamment" (rather elegantly) shows his lively interest in the book's narrative content. Two days later, on Wednesday, January 11, 1673, Galland summarized the collection's third tale. "d'un architect de la ville de Bim" (i.e., Bam), in a total of roughly four hundred words, indicating that he must have read the tale with great attention.[5] On Friday, March 3, 1673, he moreover summarized a tale that he had heard performed orally without, however, mentioning or even noticing that it was a faithful retelling of the final tale of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.[6] Incidentally, Pétis de la Croix sojourned in Aleppo during the same period as Galland stayed in Constantinople and traveled on to Isfahan, where he ended up residing for two years (1674–1676).

In 1896, Jean-Adolphe Decourdemanche (1844–1916) was probably the first one to present a detailed assessment of the relation between *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and Galland's *Mille et une nuit* as well as Pétis de la Croix's *Mille*

et un jours.[7] *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* was discovered as a source text for the study of early Ottoman Turkish by Hermann (Ármin) Vambéry (1832–1913).[8] Ettore Rossi (1895–1955) studied three tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, paying particular attention to their relation with the *1001 Days*.[9] And Andreas Tietze (1914–2003) in his 1951 conference presentation (published in 1957) discussed *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* as an important instance for the transmission of tales East to West.[10] Tietze's plan of a comprehensive publication on *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* has only after his death resulted in the publication of the book's text in both facsimile and transcription, prepared in cooperation with Tietze by his colleague and friend György Hazai (1932–2016).[11] A revised edition of the first three tales in Tietze's translation has been published by Hazai and his collaborator Heidi Stein.[12] Tietze's critical edition of the text is irretrievably lost.[13] His detailed commentary that, judging from his short essay, was to elucidate the collection's manifold international connections never materialized.[14]

Various scholars of both Ottoman and Persian studies have observed the position of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* in the process of transmitting tales East to West.[15] The Berlin manuscript of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* has been translated in full by Auguste Bricteux (1873–1937) in 1910,[16] and the Mashhad manuscript titled *46 Ḥikāyat* has been studied in detail in Roxane Haag-Higuchi's 1984 dissertation.[17] Neither author, however, paid attention to the genre's Ottoman Turkish dimension, a fact that also holds true for the publication of a number of manuscripts by Iranian scholars, so far comprising a manuscript in a private collection in Tehran (see manuscript H in "Manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*")[18] and the manuscripts preserved in the library of the sanctuary of Imām Riżā in Mashhad, Iran (= *46 Ḥikāyat*; manuscript F), and in the Ganj-Bakhsh Library in Islamabad (manuscript B), respectively.[19]

The main aim of the present study lies in combining the results of previous research in a variety of fields with an assessment of the related issues in the light of comparative folk narrative research. The majority of the research published on the three collections considered here has been

published in either French or German. Consequently, the present study also aims to make the Middle Eastern collections, that is, the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, known to international research, in the context of which they are bound to receive the attention they deserve.

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[1]Out of respect for Andreas Tietze's work, the Ottoman Turkish title *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* (pronounced as *Ferej ba'ad esh-shidde*) is transcribed in his preferred manner. A few Turkish words are quoted as given in the text's edition. Other than that, words and names from Arabic, Persian, and Turkish have been transcribed in a simplified English transcription, using the vowels a, i, u, and ā, ī, ū.

[2]Dariush Kargar, "Jāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 14 (New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 2008), cols. 459–461; Pigāh Khadīsh, "Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt," in *Dānishnāma-yi farhang-i mardum-i Īrān*, vol. 3 (Tehran: Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī, 1394/2016), pp. 126–129.

[3]Marie-Louise Dufrenoy, *L'Orient romanesque en France, 1704–1789*, vol. 3, *L'idée de progrès l'Orient* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1975), pp. 159–194; François Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours: Contes persans*, ed. Paul Sebag (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1980; 2nd rev. ed., Paris: Phébus, 2003); Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de la sultane de Perse et des vizirs*, ed. Raymonde Robert, and *Les mille et un jours: Contes persans*, ed. Pierre Brunel, Christelle Bahier-Porte, and Frédéric Mancier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), pp. 211–905, 1283–1292; Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire du Prince Calaf et de la Princesse de la Chine: Conte des "Mille et un jours,"* ed. Paul Sebag (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000); Ulrich Marzolph, "Tausendundein Tag," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. Kurt Ranke et al., 15 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1977–2015), vol. 13, cols. 288–302.

[4]Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672–1673)*, ed. Charles Schefer, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 6–7. In note 1 on p. 7, Schefer erroneously quotes the author of the (anonymous) compilation to be "Mohammed Ibn Omer El-Haleby." This person, however, is the early fifteenth-century translator (from Persian) of the originally Arabic work with the same title compiled by al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī; see Edgard Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1932–1933), vol. 1, p. 161, no. 383.

[5]Galland, *Journal*, ed. Schefer, vol. 2, pp. 7–8.

[6]Ibid., pp. 45–46. Andreas Tietze mentioned in his first presentation on *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* that Galland "noted the content of several [of the collection's] tales" in his diary; see A[ndreas] Tietze, "Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* als Medium der Wanderung orientalischer Stoffe ins Abendland," in *Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists, Held in Istanbul September 15th to 22nd, 1951*, vol. 2, *Communications*, ed. Zeki Velidi Togan (Leiden: Brill, 1957), p. 416 (reprinted in *Archivum Ottomanicum* 22 [2004]: 65–74). In the preface to the edition *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde: "Freud nach Leid" (ein frühosmanisches Geschichtenbuch)*, vol. 1, *Text*, vol. 2, *Faksimiles*, ed. György Hazai and

Andreas Tietze (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2006), vol. 1, p. 16, Tietze specifies that Galland took down the content of two stories on Wednesday (January 11, 1673) and Friday the same week as he acquired the book; these two tales are quoted as being nos. 3 and 13. Meanwhile, Galland's diary has no entry for Friday, January 13, 1673, and *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 13, is nowhere quoted. The second tale quoted from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, albeit indirectly, on Friday, March 3, 1673, corresponds to no. 42.

[7]Jean-Adolphe Decourdemanche, *Les ruses des femmes (Mikri-zenan) et extraits du plaisir après la peine (Feredj bad chiddeh)* (Paris: E. Leroux 1896), pp. iv–vii; see also Decourdemanche, *The Wiles of Women*, trans. J. and S. F. Mills Whitham (London: G. Rutledge, 1928). Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 513–520; and Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire du Prince Calaf*, ed. Sebag, pp. 101–102, list early quotations relating to the scholarly assessment of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.

[8]Hermann Vambéry, *Alt-osmanische Sprachstudien* (Leiden: Brill, 1901), pp. 37–111 (Ottoman text, transcription, and German translation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 2); Ármin Vámbéry, "Der orientalische Ursprung von Shylock," *Keleti szemle* 2 (1901): 18–29 (Ottoman text and German translation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 38).

[9]Ettore Rossi, "La fonte turca della novella poetica albanese 'Erveheja' di Muhamet Çami (sec. XVIII–XIX) e il tema di 'Florence de Rome' e di 'Crescentia'," *Oriente moderno* 28 (1948): 143–153 (= *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 30); Rossi, "La fonte turca della novella-cornice dei 'Mille e un giorno' di Pétis de la Croix," *Oriente moderno* 29 (1949): 28–33 (= *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 5); Rossi, "La leggenda di Turandot," in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1956), pp. 457–476 (= *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 25).

[10]Tietze, "Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*."

[11]*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, ed. Hazai and Tietze. The edition (and Tietze's translation) mainly follow the manuscript Budapest, Academy of Sciences, Török, F. 71 (dated 855/1451); see vol. 1, pp. 19–20, 26. Lacunae have been amended from the manuscript Istanbul, Lâleli, no. 1698 (second half of the fifteenth century).

[12]György Hazai and Heidi Stein, trans. and eds., "Proben aus dem *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in der deutschen Übersetzung von Andreas Tietze," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 30 (2013): 49–104.

[13]*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, ed. Hazai and Tietze, vol. 1, p. 7.

[14]Ibid., vol. 1, p. 13.

[15]Most recently, see Ingeborg Baldauf, "Freude nach der Bedrängnis? Literarische Geschichten zwischen Osmanisch, Persisch und Tatarisch," in *Armağan: Festschrift für Andreas Tietze*, ed. Ingeborg Baldauf and Suraiya Faroqhi (Prague: Enigma, 1994), pp. 29–46; Helga Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen in altosmanischen Prosatexten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), pp. 23–38.

[16]Auguste Bricteux, *Contes persans: Traduits pour la première foi sur un manuscrit inédit de la Bibliohtèque de Berlin, avec préface de Victor Chauvin* (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne; Paris: Honoré Champion, 1910). Previous publications of single tales include Auguste Bricteux and Victor Chauvin, "Histoire de la Sīmourgh […]," *Le muséon* 24 (1905): 53–90; and "Histoire des trois jouvenceaux […]," *Le muséon* 24 (1905): 379–396.

[17]Roxane Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen zu einer Sammlung persischer Erzählungen: Čihil wa-šiš ḥikāyat yā ǧāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1984).

[18]Abū 'l-Faẓl Qāżī, *Āvardaʾand ki … : Dāstānhā-yi kuhan-i īrānī* (Tehran: Rāhnamā, 1362/1983).

[19] *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt bar asās-i nuskha-yi Āstān-i quds-i Rażavī*, ed. Pigāh Khadīsh and Muḥammad Jaʿfarī (Qanavātī) (Tehran: Māzyār, 1390/2011); *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: Nuskha-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Ganj-Bakhsh-i Pākistān*, ed. Muḥammad Jaʿfarī (Qanavātī) (Tehran: Qaṭra, 1391/2012). Muḥammad Jaʿfarī (Qanavātī) informs me that his edition of the manuscript in the India Office Library in London (see manuscript E_1) is to be published soon.

Pétis de la Croix's *Mille et un jours*

François Pétis de la Croix's *Mille et un jours* (1710–1712) was compiled and published in the aftermath of Antoine Galland's *Mille et une nuit* (1704–1717; henceforth *1001 Nights*), the highly influential adapted and enlarged translation of the Arabic *Alf layla wa-layla*. Although a fair number of studies have dealt with the *1001 Days*, particularly the prefaces or afterwords to the numerous editions the work has experienced in French and other languages, the complex sources of Pétis de la Croix's compilation still remain somewhat enigmatic. Pétis de la Croix's preface[1] states that he owed the tales he presented to the famous dervish Moclès (= Mukhliṣ), whom he introduces as one of the great persons of Iran and chief of the mystics in Isfahan. In his youth, this Moclès is said to have translated a number of Indian "comédies" that he rendered as entertaining tales in Persian. In order to distinguish his translation from the Ottoman Turkish version titled *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* (Relief after hardship), a copy of which is stated to be in the Royal Library in Paris, Moclès titled his work *Hizār va yak rūz* (A thousand and one days). As Pétis had close relations with Moclès during his sojourn in Isfahan (1674–1676), Moclès kindly lent him his Persian translation and permitted him to prepare a copy for himself.

Subsequent research has proved that most of Pétis de la Croix's assertions concerning the origin of his work constitute arguments in his scheme of mystification. Moclès is undoubtedly a historical character whom Pétis de la Croix had met. But first, a Persian work titled *Hizār va*

yak rūz has never been proved to exist; second, for the majority of tales the author most likely did not translate from the Persian but from the Ottoman Turkish; and third, instead of preparing a more or less faithful translation he used his source material as an inspiration, selecting and rearranging motifs, elements, plots, characters, and whole stories at will. There is a certain dispute as to the extent to which the rearrangement of tales, elements, and motifs is due to a reworking of Pétis de la Croix's "raw" translation by Alain-René Lesage (1668–1747), author of the famous novel *Le diable boiteux* (1707), translated into English by Joseph Thomas in 1841 as *The Devil on Two Sticks*.[2] After a detailed assessment of this question, Paul Sebag concludes that Lesage at best suggested a certain number of stylistic ameliorations. Other than that, the work is to be regarded as purely Pétis de la Croix's.[3] The recent publication of Pétis de la Croix's translation of *Sindabad le marin*, that is, the tales of Sindbad the seafaring merchant, prepared in 1701, supports this argument.[4] The translation, preserved in Pétis de la Croix's own hand, presents an unembellished text that appears to be extremely close and faithful to the text of the (as yet unidentified) original Arabic manuscript. If we compare Pétis de la Croix's *Sindabad* to the refined style of his *1001 Days*, there is little doubt that the latter has been reworked by a person of literary taste.

As for the collection's title, *Les mille et un jours*, Pétis de la Croix obviously invented it by himself, and equally obviously he did so to match the title of the *1001 Nights*, a work that enjoyed tremendous popularity in his day. From Pétis de la Croix's Isfahan diary we know that he studied the *Maṯnavī* of the thirteenth-century Persian mystical poet Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī with Moclès (whom he quotes as Dervysh Moqles), apparently a leader (*grand supérieure*) of the Mawlavī order in Isfahan.[5] But the diary does not mention a word about Moclès possessing the manuscript under consideration. This omission appears strange in view of the fact that Pétis de la Croix frequently visited the dervish for a period of about four to five months. Consequently, research has presumed from the very beginning that both Pétis de la Croix's claim of having received the original manuscript from Moclès and the existence of a Persian manuscript titled *Hizār va yak ruz* are later mystifications, intended to authenticate his work.[6] Although

doubts concerning the veracity of Pétis de la Croix's assertion were voiced at an early stage,[7] some scholars, and notably scholars of Persian literature, preferred to trust the author's claim, such as William Alexander Clouston (1843–1896),[8] Arthur Christensen (1875–1945),[9] Fritz Meier (1912–1998),[10] and Jiří Cejpek (1928–2005).[11] Meanwhile, critical scholarship, above all Paul Sebag's conclusive comments to his 1980 edition of the *1001 Days*, documents beyond reasonable doubt that Pétis de la Croix used the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* as the main source of inspiration for the tales he adapted in his work. Manuscripts of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* are frequent,[12] and at the very least the Paris manuscript acquired by Galland in Constantinople on January 9, 1673,[13] must have been available to Pétis de la Croix.[14]

Table 1 lists the roughly corresponding tales between the *1001 Days* and the tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* that supplied the main inspiration to Pétis de la Croix. It should be noted that *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* was not Pétis de la Croix's only source, as Sebag also mentions several other sources, notably works of Persian literature, that the author might have exploited.[15] Out of the forty-two tales *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* contains, Pétis de la Croix used elements and plots from a mere seventeen tales to compile his own work.

TABLE 1. **Corresponding Tales between the *1001 Days* and *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde***

1001 Days		*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*		Chauvin[a]
no.	Short title	no.	Short title	no.
0	*Princesse de Cachemire*	5	*Farrukh-shād*	112
1	*Aboulcassem Basri*	1	*Abū ʾl-Qāsim from Basra*	5
2	*Ruzvandschad*	4	*Riżvān and the Dame Shahristānī*	343
3	*Roi de Thibet*			390
4	*Vizir Caverscha*			127
5	*Couloufe et Dilara*	21	*Shābūr and the Merchant Muẓaffar*	144
6	*Calaf et Tourandote*	25	*Khalaf*	113
7	*Fadlallah*	2	*Fażlallāh from Mosul*	171
8	*Bedreddin-Lolo*	11	*The Carefree King*	99
9	*Atalmulk*	17	*Ṭāhir from Basra*	63
10	*Séyfel-Mulouk*	26	*Badīʿ al-Jamāl and Sayf al-Mulūk*	348
11	*Malek et Schirine*	13	*The Weaver and the Carpenter*	132
12	*Roi sans chagrin*	11	*The Carefree King*	217
13	*Avicène*			69
14	*Belle Arouya*	12	*The Wife of the Goldsmith*	186
15	*Aboulfaouaris I*	35	*Abū ʾl-Favāris*	6
16	*Aboulfaouaris II*	27	*Tamīm al-Dārī*	6
17	*Adis et Dahy*	28	*Dukayn and Ḥabīb*	12
18	*Nasiroddolé*	7	*The ʿAyyār Naṣr*	65
19	*Repsima*	30	*Pious Ūrvīya*	323

[a] Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, 12 vols. (Liège: Vaillant Carmanne; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1892–1922).

Although Pétis de la Croix might easily have had access to Ottoman Turkish and Persian sources that would have enabled him to fill a full 1,001 days of storytelling, he claimed not to have translated the alleged Persian manuscript in full, as it contained numerous "false miracles" of the Prophet Mohammed (who in contemporary Christian Europe was regarded as an "impostor")[16] as well as tales that were "so licentious that decency had not

permitted him to render them in translation."[17] In addition to serving as a confirmation of the suspected licentiousness of "Oriental" tales that the contemporary audience would probably expect, this assertion absolved Pétis de la Croix from the responsibility of disclosing his actual source. Today, the evidence supporting *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* as the author's main source is quite convincing, and no Persian manuscript with a repertoire corresponding to that of the *1001 Days* has so far been identified. But even so, it cannot be ruled out with absolute certainty that Pétis de la Croix might have possessed such a manuscript, although the main argument in this respect is the fact that a lack of evidence does not equal an evidence of lack.

Probably due to the fame of the *1001 Days*, tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* were frequently used for translation exercises by French students of Ottoman Turkish (*jeunes de langue*) in Constantinople in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[18] The catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in Paris lists ten manuscripts with translations of a total of thirteen tales. The catalogue's compiler, Edgard Blochet, was quite explicit about the "mediocre quality" of those translations.[19] For him, the fact that two of the translations misunderstood the Ottoman Turkish *az-ān* (of) as a personal name "shows the ignorance of the students, their professors, and their supervisors."[20] The following tales have been translated by those students: no. 1 = Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 30, no. 712 (Labraze 1741); no. 2 = p. 103, no. 941 (La Braze 1742); no. 4 = p. 104, no. 943 (Maltor 1742); no. 5 = pp. 104–105, no. 945 (Maltor 1742); no. 6 = p. 30, no. 712 (Labraze 1741); part of no. 6 = p. 103, no. 940 (Maltor 1742); no. 7 = p. 106, no. 950 (Maltor 1742); no. 8 = pp. 42–43, no. 723 (Philibert Lenoir 1741); no. 9 = pp. 42–43, no. 723 (Philibert Lenoir 1741); no. 10 = p. 106, no. 950 (Maltor 1742); no. 16 = p. 103, no. 942 (Le Noir 1742); no. 26 = p. 104, no. 944 (La Braze 1742); no. 27 = p. 95, no. 914 (Julien Claude Galland 1731). Two of the translations were later published (probably in a somewhat polished form) by Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières, Comte de Caylus (1692–1765), in his *Contes orientaux: Tirés des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi de France* (La Haye, 1743).[21] The seventh volume of the posthumous edition of Caylus's *Œuvres badines* (Amsterdam, 1787) includes the *Pot-pourri* (originally published in Amsterdam, 1748) that

contains three additional tales translated from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* by the French *jeunes de langue* and reworked by Caylus.[22] Several reeditions of the same three tales have been included in enlarged editions of the *1001 Nights* published between 1837 and 1873.[23] As of the nineteenth century, it was common practice to enlarge editions of both the *1001 Nights* and the *1001 Days* with additional material. More than the *1001 Nights*, the *1001 Days* soon became synonymous to an *omnium gatherum* in which the editors would feel entitled to lump together "Oriental" tales from a great variety of sources, disregarding the fact that the original work, whether the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* or Pétis de la Croix's French *1001 Days*, had a specific content.[24] It is not without a certain irony that Pétis de la Croix's work has been translated both into Turkish (in the second half of the nineteenth century)[25] and into Persian (at the end of the nineteenth century).[26] Obviously, neither the Turkish nor the Persian translators were aware of the tales' origin in their own cultures.

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[1]See Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 33–34.

[2]Christelle Bahier-Porte, "Le laboratoire des *Mille et un jours*: De François Pétis de La Croix et Lesage," in *Le conte merveilleux au XVIIIe siècle: Une poétique expérimentale*, ed. Régine Jomand-Baudry and Jean-François Perrin (Paris: Kimé, 2002), pp. 23–40; Bahier-Porte, introduction to Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Brunel et al., pp. 235–247.

[3]Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire du Prince Calaf*, ed. Sebag, pp. 107–114.

[4]François Pétis de la Croix, *Sindabad le marin: Traduction inédite de 1701*, ed. Aboubakr Chraïbi and Ulrich Marzolph (Paris: espaces&signes, 2016).

[5]Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 12–16; Pétis de la Croix, "Voyage du Sieur François Petis, en Syrie et en Perse," in *Relation de Dourri Efendy, ambassadeur de la Porte Othomane auprès du roi de Perse, traduite du turk, et suivi de l'Extrait des Voyages de Pétis de la Croix, rédigé par lui même* (Paris: Ferra, 1810), pp. 123–124.

[6]Manuel Couvreur has recently suggested that the mystification (*imposture*) owes its existence to the negative image of the Turcs and their culture, whose injustice Galland repeatedly deplored, e.g., in his preface to Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*; see Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuit: Contes arabes*, ed. Manuel Couvreur (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2016), p. 142n408); A[ntoine] Gal[l]and, "Discours pour servir de préface a la Bibliothèque orientale," in Barthélemy D'Herbelot,

Bibliothèque orientale, ou Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient (Maestricht: J. E. Dufour and Ph. Roux, 1776), p. x.

[7]See the quotations collected in Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 513–520.

[8]William Alexander Clouston, "Additional Notes," in *Originals and Analogues of Some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. Frederick James Furnivall, Edmund Brock, and W. A. Clouston (London: N. Trübner, 1887), pp. 541–544; Clouston, "Variants and Analogues of the Tales in the Supplemental Nights," in Richard F. Burton, *Arabian Nights: With Introduction and Explanatory Notes*, vol. 13 (1885; repr., Beirut: Khayat, 1966), pp. 553–554.

[9]Arthur Christensen, *Persische Märchen* (Düsseldorf and Cologne: Diederichs, 1953), p. 281 ("sicher ein echt persisches Werk").

[10]Fritz Meier, "Turandot in Persien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 95 (1941): 1–27, 415–421.

[11]Jiří Cejpek, "The Thousand and One Days," in "Iranian Folk Literature," in *History of Iranian Literature*, by Jan Rypka, ed. Karl Jahn (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1968), pp. 666–669.

[12]See the list of manuscripts in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, ed. Hazai and Tietze, vol. 1, pp. 19–25.

[13]Galland, *Journal*, ed. Schefer, vol. 2, pp. 6–7.

[14]Following Sebag (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 620), Jean-Paul Sermain, the editor of Galland's *Mille et une nuits*, assumes that Pétis de la Croix has probably (*vraisemblablement*) translated from either one of two manuscripts in Paris, nos. 377 or 382 of the "fonds turc"; see *Les mille et une nuits: Contes arabes*, trans. Antoine Galland, vol. 3 (Paris: Flammarion, 2004), p. 374. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 1, p. 378, no. 377 (estimated to be written in about 1400), and p. 161, no. 382 (dated 1576).

[15]Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 491–508.

[16]D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, p. 602.

[17]Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 37.

[18]Sebag has correctly pointed out that the translations could not have been used by Pétis de la Croix, as Blochet had presumed, since Pétis de la Croix died in 1713, and the translations were prepared in 1731, 1741, and 1742, respectively; see Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 645; Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 106, no. 951. Blochet attributes a commentary in the manuscript translation of the tale of Badīʿ al-Jamāl and Sayf al-Mulūk (*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 26; Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 104, no. 944) to Pétis de la Croix: "il y a quelque chose à prendre dans ce conte et que j'ai pris." It is more likely that the commentary was, in fact, written by the person who included the tale in the *Œuvres badines* (Amsterdam, 1787) attributed to the Comte de Caylus (for whom see infra).

[19]Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 106, no. 951.

[20]Ibid., vol. 2, p. 104, no. 943.

[21]Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vols. 5–7 (Liège: Vaillant Carmanne; and Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1901–1903), vol. 4, p. 133, no. 335 A, vol. 4, p. 222; see the comments to the summaries, nos. 27, 31. For a detailed analysis of Caylus's sources, see Comte de Caylus, *Contes*, ed. Julie Bloch (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), pp. 677–682; see also Raymonde Robert, "Lectures croisées d'un conte oriental: Pétis de la Croix (*Mille et un jours*, 1710), Mlle Falques (*Contes du Serail*, 1753)," *Féeries* 2 (2004–

2005): 29–45; Julie Bloch, “Da le traduction à l’invention: Aux sources des *Contes orienteaux* de Caylus,” *Féeries* 2 (2004–2005): 47–59.

[22]Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, p. 134, no. 335 F, vol. 4, p. 222; see the comments to the summaries, nos. 7, 10, 26; Kris Peeters, “Bibliographie critique du Comte de Caylus,” in *Le Comte de Caylus, les arts et les lettres: Actes du colloque d’Oxford, 26–27 mai 2000*, ed. Nicholas Cronk (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), p. 281.

[23]Peeters, “Bibliographie critique du Comte de Caylus,” p. 310; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, p. 31, no. 36.

[24]Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, pp. 123–132; Marzolph, “Tausendundein Tag,” col. 286. The most recent German edition includes tales from about a dozen different sources; see *Tausend und ein Tag—Morgenländische Erzählungen*, ed. Rainer Schmitz (Berlin: Die andere Bibliothek, 2014).

[25]Baldauf, “Freude nach der Bedrängnis?,” p. 38. The Turkish translations date to 1284–1287/1867–1880 and 1290/1873, respectively.

[26]Muḥammad Jaʿfar Maḥjūb, “Alf al-nahār,” in *Adabīyāt-i ʿāmmīyāna-yi Īrān*, ed. Ḥasan Ẕū ’l-faqārī, vol. 1 (Tehran: Chishma, 1382/2003), pp. 423–439. Maḥjūb refers to an edition published in Tehran, 1329/1950. The book’s first edition was published in 1313/1895.

The Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*

Having established the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* as the main source for Pétis de la Croix's inspiration, research is now faced with the task of discussing and identifying the sources of the former work. Wherever these sources may eventually be found, the repertoire of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* is surprisingly consistent, as the majority of manuscripts contain forty-two tales in an identical sequence. Although the anonymous compiler of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* does not mention any of his sources, the fact that the text renders the titles of the tales in Persian—a fairly common feature in Ottoman works—appears to indicate that the tales have been translated from the Persian. In the Ottoman period, it was common practice to translate collections of tales from the Persian, as documented by versions of works like *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the *Sindbād-nāma*, and the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*.[1] Although Tietze's extensive commentary to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* is lost, his comments indicate that he spent considerable effort to compare the repertoire of tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* to that of other collections of tales in Persian. As a result, he identified a certain number of corresponding tales in collections such as Muḥammad-ʿAlī Ẓahīrī Samarqandī's mid-twelfth-century *Sindbād-nāma* (The book of Sindbād, better known in the West as "The seven sages [of Rome]"), Sadīd al-dīn Muḥammad ʿAwfī's early thirteenth-century *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (Compendium of tales), and Żiyāʾ al-dīn Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Book of the parrot), completed in 730/1329–1330; in addition, he identified a fair number of corresponding tales in the

1001 Nights.[2] The latter work, although originally compiled in Arabic, was an obvious point of comparison, as the publisher of Galland's translation of the *Nights* had introduced three tales from Pétis de la Croix's translation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* into the eighth volume of Galland's text—without, however, informing either Galland or Pétis de la Croix.[3] Although Galland requested that the publisher state this "infidelity" in the book's subsequent edition, the three tales—*Zayn al-Aṣnām* and *Khudādād and His Brothers*, with the embedded *History of the Princess of Daryābār*—have come to be read as an integral part of the *1001 Nights* in most subsequent translations based on Galland. None of the parallels that Tietze identified in the aforementioned works did, however, suffice to suggest a probable source, let alone a single manuscript of a specific book that the compiler of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* might have exploited.

Already Clouston, both in his "Additional Notes" to Frederick James Furnivall's *Originals and Analogues of Some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (1887) and in his contribution "Variants and Analogues of the Tales in the Supplemental Nights" to the thirteenth volume of Richard Burton's *Arabian Nights* (1885), had pointed to a certain number of corresponding tales in both the *1001 Days* and *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.[4] Even so, Clouston was convinced of the Persian origin of the *1001 Days*, in this respect quoting a Persian manuscript in the British Library that was "written probably at the beginning of the 17th century."[5] In 1941, the Swiss scholar of Persian studies Fritz Meier in his essay "Turandot in Persien" discussed what he conceived as the ultimate source of the Turandot tale of the *1001 Days* in manuscripts of the Persian genre *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ignoring, however, Clouston's findings.[6] Probably following Meier's lead, Tietze explored several collections of the Persian genre *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, aiming to identify parallel versions to the tales of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. Tietze encountered the largest number of corresponding tales in a manuscript, accidentally the one already mentioned by Clouston, compiled "apparently in the 16th or beginning of the 17th century" by a certain Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Mīrak Ḥusayn Muẓaffarī Sajāvandī, nicknamed "Ḥubbī," that is today preserved in the British Library in London (see manuscript A in "Manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*").[7] Although the number of

corresponding tales in the Persian manuscript is considerable, the sequence of the tales does not correspond to that of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, thus excluding the former collection from being a possible model for the latter. So far no single manuscript of the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* containing all of the tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* or even the majority of tales in the same sequence has been identified. Notwithstanding this fact, research more or less agrees that one or more representatives of the Persian genre *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* served as the major source for *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. As the scholar of Turkic studies Ingeborg Baldauf said in 1994, "The precise model for the Ottoman corpus that became famous under the title *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* will still have to be located—or maybe such a model never existed; instead, one has to presume that the particular compilation of tales was only largely inspired by a [work of the genre] *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, in addition to whose material it also drew from other sources and integrated other single tales."[8] Still in 2005, the Ottomanist scholar Helga Anetshofer stated cautiously that the redaction of the tales in the form encountered in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* may ultimately prove to be a Turkish composition after all.[9] The arguments presented in what follows strongly support these assumptions.

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[1]See, e.g., Claudia Römer, "Der Einfluss der Übersetzungen aus dem Persischen auf die Entwicklung des Osmanischen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 (1981): 89–114; Anja Pistor-Hatam, "The Art of Translation: Rewriting Persian Texts from the Seljuks to the Ottomans," *Archív Orientální*, Supplementa 8 (1998), *Essays on Ottoman Civilization* (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 1998), pp. 305–316; Halil İnalcik, "The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets," *Journal of Turkish Literature* 5 (2008): 5–75.

[2]Tietze, "Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*," p. 418, in addition to the three tales that were "smuggled into" Galland's *Nights*, mentions seventeen "far-reaching" corresponding tales in the *1001 Nights*, several in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, and one each in the *Sindbād-nāma* and *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*. Particularly for the latter compilation, the number of corresponding tales can now to shown to be considerably larger. For the editions of the quoted works that have been consulted for the present study, see the commentaries to the respective tales.

[3]Mohamed Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1964), pp. 269–271; see *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, nos. 6, 8, and 9; Hakan T. Karateke, "The Politics of Translation: Two

Stories from The Turkish *Ferec baʿde Şidde* in *Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 74, no. 2 (2015): 211–224.

[4]Clouston, "Additional Notes"; Clouston, "Variants and Analogues."

[5]Clouston, "Additional Notes," p. 542.

[6]Meier, "Turandot in Persien." Gregor Schoeler is preparing an edition and translation of the Persian manuscript of the tale of Turandot that Meier used.

[7]Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1881), pp. 759–760, or. 237.

[8]Baldauf, "Freude nach der Bedrängnis?," pp. 32–33.

[9]Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen*, p. 26.

The Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*

As the foregoing summary of previous research demonstrates, early efforts to trace tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* to Persian sources have not succeeded in convincingly arguing for a single Persian source that might have served as the model for *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. In the meantime, Baldauf has enlarged Tietze's argument considerably by referring to Persian manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* preserved in the Uzbek Academy of Sciences in Tashkent and the Saint Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (an institution now holding the manuscripts belonging to the former Institute for the Peoples of Asia) that demonstrate a remarkably high number of matches to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*,[1] and Anetshofer has specified analogous tales in Ḥubbī's *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* that Tietze had only mentioned summarily.[2] If we now consider Baldauf's findings together with the Iranian folklorist Muḥammad Jaʿfarī Qanavātī's recent edition of the manuscript of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* preserved in the Ganj-Bakhsh Library in Islamabad,[3] it appears to be increasingly likely that at least the initial tales of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* have been translated from one specific manuscript following the model manuscript's specific arrangement, while the remainder has been compiled from a variety of sources. One of the major problems connected with the identification of Persian sources is the fact that all manuscripts of the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* are comparatively young, the oldest one (manuscript A) at best dating from the sixteenth century. If one argues that the Persian compilations might have served as a model for

the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, this argument leads us to presume that the currently known manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, most of which date from a considerably later period than *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, preserve the repertoire of one or several Persian manuscript precursors that existed prior to the Ottoman Turkish translation, that is, sometime in the late or even early fourteenth century. According to the Iranian bibliographer Muḥammad-Taqī Dānish-Pazhūh, one of the Leningrad manuscripts titled *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* dates to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, as it was compiled during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the Khaljī ruler of Dehli (reigned 1296–1316).[4] As the content of that manuscript, summarized by Dānish-Pazhūh, differs radically from that of the manuscripts surveyed in the present context, the bearings of this dating are limited. Meanwhile, one of the tales of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* (no. 4) is contained in a Persian manuscript collection of a total of four tales preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[5] The date of this collection, 1565, brings us close to the compilation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. The fine calligraphy, exquisite illumination, and beautifully executed illustrations prove the manuscript to be an elite product, raising the question of readership and audience for the tales. Moreover, at least one of the Persian manuscripts surveyed later (manuscript E_2) serves as a document for the practice of copying manuscripts over a long period of time, in this case after a hiatus of about two centuries. At the very least, we can reasonably argue that the Persian texts dating from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries are unlikely to have been translated from the Ottoman Turkish, as such an influence contradicts the commonly acknowledged ways of transmission.

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[1]Baldauf, “Freude nach der Bedrängnis?,” pp. 31–32.

[2]Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen*, p. 27, quotes Tietze as having identified twenty-four corresponding tales between the London, British Library, manuscript, or. 237, and *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. The equivalents that Anetshofer specifies, however, amount to only twelve. The present study documents twenty-two corresponding tales.

[3]*Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ed. Jaʿfarī Qanavātī.

[4]Muḥammad-Taqī Dānish-Pazhūh, *Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī dar kitābkhānahā-yi Ittiḥād-i jamāhīr-i shawravī* (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi markazī va markaz-i asnād, 1357/1978), p. 41, no. 50; Nikolay Dimitriyevich Miklukho-Maklay, ed., *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkiy alfabetny katalog)*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), p. 139, no. 904 (D 327). Kargar, "Jāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt," erroneously attributes this dating to ms. A 103 (920 F); see manuscript D_1 in the following chapter.

[5]Eduard Sachau and Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, pt. 1, *The Persian Manuscripts* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 1889), pp. 430–431, no. 459. The manuscript's catalogue description does not allow an identification of its content. I thank Nasrin Askari for mentioning this manuscript to me and for discussing some of its implications. As she is preparing an edition of the manuscript, I refrain from going into details at this point.

Manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*

For the present survey, a total of nineteen manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* including more than two tales corresponding to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* have been taken into consideration.[1] The number of tales included in these manuscripts varies greatly, as do the content and sequence of the tales. The largest collection (manuscript C) contains fifty-six tales. A number of manuscripts mentioned in the catalogues that contain less than three corresponding tales or that consist of a single tale altogether have not been listed.[2] If Jaʿfarī Qanavātī, the editor of the Mashhad and Islamabad manuscripts, is correct in estimating the total number of existing manuscripts of the genre *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* at some sixty items,[3] the present survey would cover about a third of the potentially available material. Three items—the Tehran, Mashhad, and Islamabad manuscripts—have been published, so that their tales can be unambiguously identified.[4] References to the corresponding tales in other manuscript versions of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* rely on the details given in the library catalogues. They are at times only approximative, as the titles of the tales given in the catalogues do not always allow an unambiguous identification. In this respect, the recently published descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Saint Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts is a tremendous achievement, as in addition to the titles it contains short summaries of the various tales and even discusses the variations in different versions of a given tale.[5] In the

following, the manuscripts are listed in a sequence roughly according to the number of tales corresponding to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.

A) London, British Library, or. 237, written by a certain Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Mīrak Ḥusayn Muẓaffarī Sajāvandī, nicknamed "Ḥubbī," apparently in the sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[6] According to the table of contents at the beginning, the manuscript contained a total of thirty-four tales (thirty-three of which have been preserved), twenty-two of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.[7] First mentioned by Clouston, the manuscript has been assessed by Tietze and, in more detail, by Anetshofer.[8]

A, no. 2 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 33; 5 = 34; 6 = 30; 7 = 25; 8 = 3; 9 = 32; 11 = 31; 12 = 8; 14 = 22; 15 = 4; 16 = 2; 17 = 1; 19 = 11; 21 = 9; 22 = 21; 23 = 10; 25 = 12; 26 = 13; 27 = 16; 29 = 18; 32 = 15; 33 = 20

B) Islamabad, Ganj-Bakhsh Library, no. 12524.[9] The manuscript contains twenty-three tales, twenty-two of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in an almost identical order. Only no. 14, *Ḥikāyat-i bī-vafāʾī-yi zanān va vafā-yi mardān* (Story of the faithlessness of women and the faithfulness of men), does not have an equivalent. The manuscript has been published by Jaʿfarī Qanavātī.[10]

B, no. 1 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 1; 2 = 2; 3 = 3; 4 = 4; 5 = 5; 6 = 6; 7 = 7; 8 = 8; 9 = 9; 10 = 10; 11 = 11; 12 = 12; 13 = 13; 15 = 14; 16 = 15; 17 = 16; 18 = 25; 19 = 17; 20 = 20; 21 = 21; 22 = 22; 23 = 19

C) Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, B 256.[11] The manuscript contains fifty-six tales, twenty-four of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

C, no. 7 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 19; 8 = 4; 9 = 14; 10 = 25; 17 = 22; 18 = 6; 19 = 11; 22 = 32; 27 = 12; 29 = 10; 32 = 20; 33 = 21; 34 = 38; 38 = 17; 40 = 33; 42 = 7; 43 = 16; 44 = 5; 46 = 2; 47 = 1; 48 = 15; 51 = 40; 54 = 18; 56 = 34

D_1) Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, A 103.[12] The manuscript contains eighteen tales, seventeen of which (except for no. 3, whose content cannot be identified) correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a largely identical order. It has first been assessed by Baldauf.[13]

The content and sequence of the tales in this manuscript are virtually identical to that of the manuscript Tashkent, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, no. 7137 (manuscript D_2).

D_1, no. 1 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 2; 2 = 3; 4 = 1; 5 = 4; 6 = 5; 7 = 6; 8 = 7; 9 = 9; 10 = 10; 11 = 11; 12 = 12; 13 = 13; 14 = 17; 15 = 19; 16 = 21; 17 = 24; 18 = 31

D_2) Tashkent, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, no. 7137, written in 1262/1845–1846.[14] The manuscript contains nineteen tales, seventeen of which (except for no. 3, of unclear content, and no. 19) correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a largely identical order. It has first been assessed by Baldauf.[15] The content and sequence of the tales in this manuscript are virtually identical to that of the manuscript Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, A 103 (manuscript D_1).

E_1) London, India Office, no. 797.[16] The date given at the end of the manuscript, 1046/1636–1637, is said to be "probably the date of that copy." The manuscript contains fifty-two or (counting the *Bakhtīyār-nāma* and its eight embedded tales as one) forty-four tales, fourteen of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order. After the end of the collection, another tale (here counted as no. 53) has been added "by another hand in diagonal lines and dated A.H. 1055, the 2nd of Dhû-alḳaʿdah /A.D. 1645, Dec. 20)." As already remarked by Jaʿfarī Qanavātī,[17] the manuscript's content and sequence of tales (including the additional tale) are virtually identical to that of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplement persan 907 (manuscript E_2).

E_1, no. 1 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 11; 10 = 17; 17 = 19; 18 = 4; 19 = 14; 20 = 25; 27 = 3; 29 = 33; 30 = 15; 32 = 6?; 33 = 40; 46 = 7; 47 = 20?; 53 = 38

E_2) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplement persan 907, achieved in 1216/1802.[18] The manuscript contains fifty-two or (counting the *Bakhtīyār-nāma* as one) forty-four tales, fourteen of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order. The content and sequence of tales in this manuscript are virtually identical to that of the

manuscript London, India Office, no. 797 (manuscript E_1); only no. 9 from that manuscript is missing.[19] Misreading the manuscript's date as 1016/1607, J. T. Reinaud pointed to the manuscript as possibly constituting "l'original d'après lequel Pétis de La Croix a fait sa traduction."[20] Referring to the manuscript's correct date, Sebag has dismissed this argument, thus neglecting a valuable indication for studying the genre of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* altogether.[21] Blochet's catalogue entry mentions the manuscript to be copied from an older manuscript dated 1025/1616.[22] In the light of the present research, this mention constitutes a witness for the practice of copying a manuscript even two centuries after its original composition.

F) Mashhad, Library of the Āstān-i quds-i Raẓavī, no. 4267, probably written at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[23] The manuscript contains forty-six tales (plus a number of embedded tales), eleven of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order; no. 29 is the *Bakhtīyār-nāma* with a total of nine embedded tales. The manuscript's text has been summarized and submitted to a literary and folkloristic analysis by Haag-Higuchi.[24] Nine tales have been published by ʿAlī Bihābādī,[25] and the complete manuscript has subsequently been published by Pigāh Khadīsh and Muḥammad Jaʿfarī Qanavātī.[26]

F, no. 2 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 42; 5 = 32; 16 = 28; 20 = 40; 22 = 27; 24 = 33; 25 = 18; 26 = 3; 32 = 35; 33 = 31; 43 = 34

G_1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. orient no. 1031, completed in 1830–1831.[27] The manuscript contains fourteen tales, seven of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order. It has been translated in full by Bricteux.[28] According to the assessment by Wilhelm Eilers and Wilhelm Heinz, the manuscript's content is identical to that of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. orient. fol. 3190 (manuscript G_2).[29]

G_1, no. 1 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 6; 2 = 10; 6 = 9; 7 = 7; 10 = 31; 11 = 4; 13 = 26

G_2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. orient. fol. 3190. According to the assessment by Eilers and Heinz, the manuscript's content is identical to that

of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, no. 1031 (manuscript G_1).[30]

H) Tehran, private collection. The manuscript contains eleven tales plus a version of the *Bakhtīyār-nāma* (in ten chapters), seven of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order. The manuscript has been published by its owner, Abū ’l-Fażl Qāżī.[31]

H, no. 2 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 31; 5 = 12; 6 = 13; 7 = 3; 8 = 7; 10 = 32; 11 = 26

I) Tashkent, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, no. 7318, written by ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Bukhārī in 1275/1857.[32] The manuscript contains thirty-two tales, at least four of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

I, no. 7 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 34; 8 = 26; 28 = 2; 32 = 3

J) Oxford, Bodleian Library, no. 477, a “modern” copy.[33] The manuscript contains eleven tales, four of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

J, no. 3 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 7; 5 = 5; 7 = 2; 11 = 34

K) Oxford, Bodleian Library, no. 476. A collection of six tales, five of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

K, no. 2a = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 30; 2b = 29; 2d = 8; 2e = 35; 2f = 33

L) Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, no. 1073 (shelf mark C 2419), written in 1295/1878.[34] The manuscript contains ten tales, four of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

L, no. 2 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 26; 3 = 4; 4 = 17; 6 = 10

M) Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, no. 1072 (shelf mark C 1640).[35] The manuscript contains fifteen tales, three of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

M, no. 3 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 26; 6 = 10; 13 = 4

N) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplement persan, no. 1126, written by a certain Muḥammad-Qulī in 1822–1823.[36] The manuscript contains six tales, three of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

N, no. 3 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 14; 4 = 34?; 5 = 17

O) Dushanbe, Institute of Manuscripts in Tajikistan, no. 1343, probably written in the nineteenth century.[37] The manuscript contains five tales, three of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

O, no. 1 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 34; 3 = 17; 5 = 21

P) Oxford, Bodleian Library, no. 488, probably written in the eighteenth century.[38] The manuscript contains four tales, three of which correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a different order.

P, no. 1 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 25; 2 = 4; 4 = 3

Table 2 surveys the corresponding items between *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and those seven currently known manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* that contain the largest number of matches, that is, between fourteen and twenty-four, or a maximum of about half the tales contained in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.

TABLE 2. **Corresponding Tales between *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt***

The table lists only those seven copies of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* that contain more than ten corresponding tales. A = London, British Library, or. 237 [22]; B = Islamabad, Ganj-Bakhsh Library [22]; C = Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, B 256 [24], D = Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, A 103, and Tashkent, no. 7317 [17]; E = London, India Office Library, no. 797, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. persan 907 [13]; X = tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* for which there is a corresponding version in at least one surveyed copy of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*.

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde		*Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*					
no.	Short title	A	B	C	D	E	X
1	*Abū ʾl-Qāsim from Basra*	17	1	47	4		x
2	*Fażlallāh from Mosul*	16	2	46	1		x
3	*The Wife of the Builder of Bam*	8	3		2	27	x
4	*Riżvān and the Dame Shahristānī*	15	4	8	5	18	x
5	*Farrukh-shād, Farrukh-rūz, and Farrukh-nāz*		5	44	6		x
6	*The Vizier, the King's Daughter, and the Witch*		6	18	7	32	x
7	*The ʿAyyār Naṣr and the Prince of Khorasan*		7	42	8	46	x
8	*Zayn al-Aṣnām*	12	8				x
9	*Khudādād*	21	9	50	9		x
10	*The Three Young Men and the Princess*	23	10	29	10		x
11	*The Carefree King and the Sorrowful Vizier*	19	11	19	11	1	x
12	*The Wife of the Goldsmith and the Scholar*	25	12	27	12		x
13	*The Weaver and the Carpenter*	26	13		13		x
14	*Isḥāq from Mosul*	32	15	9		19	x
15	*Bilqīs*		16	48		30	x
16	*Manṣūr, the Son of the Jeweler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*	27	17	43			x
17	*The Witch Shamsa and Ṭāhir from Basra*		19	38	14	10	x
18	*The Thief and the Kadi*	29		54			x
19	*The Princess of Kashmir and the Merchant*		23	7	15	17	x
20	*The Kadi of Bagdad and Hārūn al-Rashīd*	33	20	32		47	x
21	*Shābūr from Kāzarūn and the Merchant Muẓaffar*	22	21	33	16		x
22	*The Three Brothers and the Kadi*	14	22				x
23	*The King, the Vizier, and the Dogs*						

24	*Lavvāḥa and the Moneychanger Bashar*				17		x
25	*Khalaf*	7	18	10		20	x
26	*Badīʿ al-Jamāl and Sayf al-Mulūk*						x
27	*Tamīm al-Dārī*						x
28	*Dukayn, Ḥabīb, and the Young Woman*						x
29	*The Barmakid Yaḥyā and the Blind Man*						x
30	*Pious Ūrvīya*	6					x
31	*Solomon, the Phoenix, and Their Dispute*	11			18		x
32	*The Baldheaded Gardener*	9		22			x
33	*Khālid and the Garrulous Barber*	2		40		29	x
34	*Dalle*	5		56			x
35	*Abū ʾl-Favāris*						x
36	*Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna*						
37	*Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī*						
38	*The Muslim, the Jew, and the Kadi of Ḥimṣ*			34		53	x
39	*Bānū and Dustūr*						
40	*Sīmjūr and Chīpūr*			51		33	x
41	*The Bārbāh and Bukhtnaṣr's Vizier*						
42	*The Much-Traveled Man*						x

The Iranian bibliographer Aḥmad Munzavī has classified the Persian books titled *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* in three groups:[39] (1) Persian translations of al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī's (d. 994) originally Arabic *Faraj baʿd al-shidda*, particularly the fourteenth-century translation by Ḥusayn b. Asʿad Dahistānī. Although the title of Tanūkhī's book and its translations is shared by the Ottoman *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, its contents as being that of an authored work are clearly defined and differ throughout from the anonymous compilations bearing the title *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*; consequently, the Persian translations of al-Tanūkhī's book are irrelevant for the present discussion; (2) four manuscripts (three in Leningrad, today's Saint Petersburg, and one in Pakistan); and (3) the unique Mashhad manuscript titled *46 Ḥikāyat*. Taking the present findings into account, either groups 2 and 3 might be considered together as a group comprising collections of unspecific tales with partly corresponding contents. As a somewhat more nuanced alternative, one might define group 2 as collections that agree to a

large extent with the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in terms of both content and sequence of tales and thus probably constituting copies of the original Persian work on which the initial tales of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* were modeled; group 3 might then be defined as comprising collections of tales with a differing number of tales and a highly varied content whose tales correspond to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* only to a certain extent while being presented in a sequence both differing from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and from other Persian copies of this and the previous group. Although several manuscripts of this group share the feature of embedding the *Bakhtīyār-nāma*, most of the manuscripts appear to be independent from each other.

A considerable problem in assessing the true scope and the number of existing manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* lies in the fact that the compilers of the various catalogues often qualified the catalogued works as either *Ḥikāyāt* (Tales) or *Majmūʿa[-yi ḥikāyāt]* (Compilation [of tales]), thus presuming these works to be random collections of tales without a specific character and blurring the specifics that can be identified through a detailed comparison of contents.[40] Notably, this problem arises not only from the catalogues themselves but from the ways the various compilers handled the material at their disposal. In addition, numerous manuscripts lack the first page or simply do not have any title at all. If we now consider the long and uncritical process of lumping together the material in various ways with the fact that several of the preserved manuscripts do, in fact, document a clearly defined repertoire and sequence of tales, it does not appear to be far-fetched to surmise the existence of an “original” collection that might once have comprised a considerable number of the initial tales contained in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in the same order. At the very least, it appears safe to surmise that a Persian collection titled *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* must have existed prior to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in the fourteenth century, traces of which have been preserved in later Persian manuscripts. Moreover, the repertoire contained in that Persian collection to a considerable extent appears to have been the same as later documented in the Ottoman Turkish translation.

At the same time, the Persian original probably did not contain the full set of tales as given in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. Up to no. 22 = *The Three Brothers and the Kadi*, and including no. 25 = *Khalaf*, the list of corresponding versions in manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* is so dense that

the origin of the tales from, or at least their wide dissemination in, Persian tradition is highly probable. As for the following tales, many are documented in early Arabic sources or are otherwise so closely linked to Arab history and culture that one may presume the Ottoman Turkish translation to be based on Persian versions of tales originating from Arabic tradition. This applies notably to tales such as no. 26 = *Badīʿ al-Jamāl and Sayf al-Mulūk*; no. 27 = *Tamīm al-Dārī*; no. 29 = *The Barmakid Yaḥyā and the Blind Man*; no. 31 = *Solomon, the Phoenix, and Their Dispute*; no. 33 = *Khālid and the Garrulous Barber*; no. 34 = *Dalla*; no. 35 = *Abū ʾl-Favāris*; and no. 37 = *Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī*. But while the earlier section of tales from a presumed Persian original is fairly homogeneous in various manuscripts of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, the tales in the latter section are so diverse that they appear to be compiled from a variety of sources. Whether this compilation was achieved by the Ottoman Turkish compiler or an earlier Persian precursor remains to be determined.

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[1]For a recent survey of manuscripts pertaining to the genre of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* in Iranian libraries, see Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dast-nivishthā-yi Īrān*, vol. 3 (Tehran: Majlis, 1389/2010), pp. 551–552; Dirāyatī, *Fihristgān-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Īrān*, vol. 9 (Tehran: Majlis, 1391/2012), pp. 850–852.

[2]For these, see particularly the annotated catalogue of the Saint Petersburg collection of Persian manuscripts, N. D. Mīklūkhū Māklāy et al., *Fihrist-i tawṣīfī-yi nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi [fārsī] va tājīkī, Anstītū-e dastnavīshā-yi sharqī-yi Farhangistān-i ʿulūm-i Rūsīya, San Peterzbūrg* (Qom: Marʿashī, 1392/2013), pp. 353–385.

[3]"Taṣḥīḥ-i 'Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt' bih qalam-i Jaʿfarī Qanavātī intishār yāft" (interview with the editor of the Ganj-Bakhsh manuscript) on the website of the Iranian news agency Isna, dated Tīr 16, 1395, accessed July 6, 2016, http://isna.ir/fa/news/91122717281. In the preface to the publication of the Mashhad manuscript (*Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ed. Khadīsh and Jaʿfarī Qanavātī), the editors speak of "a large number" of manuscripts, of which they explicitly specify fifteen (pp. 10–11). Kargar, "Jāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt," mentions altogether forty-one manuscripts in various libraries.

[4]Qāżī, *Āvardaʾand ki …*; *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ed. Khadīsh and Jaʿfarī Qanavātī; *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ed. Jaʿfarī Qanavātī.

[5]Mīklūkhū Māklāy et al., *Fihrist-i tawṣīfī*.

[6]Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 759–760, or. 237.

[7]I would like to thank Ursula Sims-Williams, curator of Iranian collections at the British Library, for kindly supplying the list of contents of this manuscript to me.

[8]Clouston, "Additional Notes"; Tietze, "Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*," p. 418; Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen*, pp. 26–27.

[9]*Fihrist-i mushtarak-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī-yi Pākistān*, vol. 6 (Lahore: Markaz-i taḥqīqāt-i fārsī-yi Īrān va Pākistān, 1365/1986), pp. 1082–1083.

[10]*Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ed. Jaʿfarī Qanavātī.

[11]Miklukho-Maklay, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi*, pp. 527–529, no. 3921; Mīklūkhū Māklāy et al., *Fihrist-i tawṣīfī*, pp. 353–361, no. 655.

[12]Miklukho-Maklay, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi*, pp. 137–138, no. 902; Mīklūkhū Māklāy et al., *Fihrist-i tawṣīfī*, pp. 361–363, no. 656. As mentioned above (p. 17n4), the early dating of this manuscript by Kargar, "Jāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt," is an error.

[13]Baldauf, "Freude nach der Bedrängnis," p. 32.

[14]*Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi CCR*, vol. 11 (Tashkent: Fan, 1987), pp. 234–235, no. 7317.

[15]Baldauf, "Freude nach der Bedrängnis," p. 31.

[16]Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford, UK: Hart, 1903), pp. 525–526, no. 797.

[17]*Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ed. Khadīsh and Jaʿfarī Qanavātī, p. 11.

[18]Edgard Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 4 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1934), pp. 84–85, no. 2130.

[19]Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 526, no. 797, classifies this tale as follows: "Ḥikāyat-i Hishām b. ʿAbd al-malik [in Persian script] (this tale, which is not marked in the index, is taken from Aḥmad bin Aʿtham al-Kûfî's *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* [title in Persian script] in the Persian translation, described in Nos. 131–133 of this Cat.), on fol. 82[a]."

[20]Quoted in Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 492.

[21]Baldauf, "Freude nach der Bedrängnis," p. 30.

[22]Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 4, pp. 84–85, no. 2130.

[23]Aḥmad Gulchīn-Maʿānī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-yi kitābkhāna-yi Āstān-i quds-i Raẓavī*, vol. 7, pt. 2 (Mashhad: Tūs, 1344/1965), pp. 68–75, no. 191.

[24]Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*.

[25]ʿAlī Bihābādī, *Qiṣṣa-yi Hizār Gīsū* (Tehran: Bihābād, 1380/2001).

[26]*Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, ed. Khadīsh and Jaʿfarī Qanavātī.

[27]Wilhelm Pertsch, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 4, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1888), pp. 988–989, no. 1031 [Minutoli 8].

[28]Bricteux, *Contes persans*.

[29]Wilhelm Eilers and Wilhelm Heinz, *Verzeichis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, vol. 14, *Persische Handschriften*, pt. 1 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1968), p. 80, no. 90.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Qāżī, *Āvardaʾand ki …*

[32]*Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi CCR*, vol. 11, pp. 235–236, no. 7318.

[33]Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 437–439.

[34]Miklukho-Maklay, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi*, p. 160, no. 1073; Mīklūkhū Māklāy et al., *Fihrist-i tawṣīfī*, pp. 367–368, no. 659.

[35]Miklukho-Maklay, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi*, pp. 159–160, no. 1072; Mīklūkhū Māklāy et al., *Fihrist-i tawṣīfī*, pp. 365–367, no. 658.

[36]Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 4, pp. 42–44, no. 2069.

[37]ʿAlī Mawjānī and Amr Yazdān ʿAlī Mardān, *Fihrist-i nusakh-i khaṭṭī-yi fārsī-yi Anstītū-yi āsār-i khaṭṭī-yi Tājīkistān*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Markaz-i muṭāliʿāt-i Āsyā-yi markazī va Qafqāz, 1376/1997), p. 323, no. 1343. For other manuscripts of a similar kind, see ibid., pp. 322–323, nos. 302, 1150, 1322, 1300/2.

[38]Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 447–448, no. 488.

[39]Aḥmad Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, vol. 5 (Tehran: Muʾassasa-yi farhangī-yi manṭaqeʾī, 1351/1972), 3664–3667, nos. 39814–39837; see also Baldauf, “Freude nach der Bedrängnis,” pp. 30–31; for manuscripts in Iranian libraries, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra*, vol. 3, pp. 551–552; Dirāyatī, *Fihristgān*, vol. 9, pp. 850–852.

[40]Cejpek, “VII. A. Religious Folk-Literature and Its Relations to Folk-Tradition,” in “Iranian Folk Literature,” p. 680, quotes E. E. Bertel’s, “Persidskaya ‘lubochnaya’ literatura,” in *Sergeyu Federovichu Ol’denburgu k pyadidesyatiletiyu nauchno-obshchestvennoy deyatel’nosti 1882–1932* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 88–89, as saying that “folk-prints” of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* were “intended to vulgarise the most important Shīʿite doctrines in a form that would be accessible to the masses.” Cejpek himself opines that this is slightly overstated, as the “central idea emphasised is the characteristic common to all heroes, namely the determination to suffer every privation and torment without complaint with the sole aim of earning a reward after death.” It should be noted that both Bertel’s and Cejpek present a Marxist reading of folk literature.

Tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in Persian, Arabic, and International Tradition

Tietze had referred to tales corresponding to those of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in a number of earlier Persian and Arabic works, albeit in a cursory manner without supplying detailed references.[1] An enlarged reassessment of these analogues is listed in the following, extracted from the data supplied in the comments to the summaries of the tales. It should be noted that the listings refer to tales or motifs that correspond more or less, and sometimes only vaguely, to those in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. No effort has been made to identify the degree of actual convergence of tales in terms of structure, plot, or wording. Moreover, the sheer existence of corresponding versions should not lead readers to presume a genetic relation that may or may not prevail.

Sadīd al-dīn Muḥammad ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* is a veritable encyclopedia of historical narratives, anecdotes, and marvelous as well as humorous tales.[2] Although the title of ʿAwfī's work is similar to that of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (*javāmiʿ* being the plural of *jāmiʿ*), the items differ in nature and content. In the most complete form of ʿAwfī's encyclopedia, its four books, each of which is divided into twenty-five chapters, contain a total of 2,113 tales. Although the work has not yet been published in its totality,[3] its contents can be assessed with a fair degree of reliability by way of the "complete table of contents" supplied in Muḥammad Niẓámu'd-dín's introduction to the work.[4] Tietze (and, following him, Anetshofer)[5]

identified a single corresponding tale in ʿAwfī's encyclopedia, obviously referring to the tale of Turandot that Meier had discussed extensively (*Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, no. 1165 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 25).[6] A diligent comparison between *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* now yields a total of at least ten corresponding tales. As Niẓámu'd-dín's summaries are short, and as not all of the tales have been published, two of the items cannot be identified with certainty. Moreover, the content of the preserved manuscripts of *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* differs to a certain extent, so that further research may result in identifying additional analogues.

Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt, no. 1144 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 22; no. 1146 = no. 29 (?); no. 1164 = no. 24; no. 1165 = no. 25; no. 1372 = no. 37 (?); no. 1467 = no. 7; no. 1549 = no. 22; no. 1561 = no. 36 (3); no. 1577 = no. 40; no. 1766 = no. 30

The *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Book of the parrot) is an enlarged Persian adaptation of the originally Sanskrit *Śukasaptati* (Seventy tales [of a parrot]).[7] Two early Persian versions of the book are known, the content of both of which has been studied in Mahroo Hatami's doctoral dissertation.[8] The first version was prepared by a certain ʿImād b. Muḥammad (whose *nisba* probably reads al-S̲agharī) in 714/1314, titled *Javāhir al-asmār* (Jewels of tales told at night). As this version obviously met with little approval, a second version was prepared soon after in 730/1329 by Żiyāʾ al-dīn Nakhshabī, titled *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Book of the parrot). In the work's frame tale, a woman intends to visit a potential lover during her husband's absence, and the parrot warns her about the possible consequences of her action by telling her tales, as a result of which she regularly postpones her visit. Five items corresponding to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* have been identified.

Hatami, no. 4 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 3; no. 24 = no. 22; no. 52 = no. 30; no. 63 = no. 5; no. 79 = no. 31

The Persian *Sindbād-nāma*, whose oldest preserved version has been compiled by Muḥammad-ʿAlī Ẓahīrī Samarqandī around the middle of the twelfth century CE,[9] is a collection of moralizing and edifying tales told when a prince has been calumniated by the ruler's favorite (or wife) to have made inadequate advances toward her. Many of the tales warn against the fickleness of women. The Persian work lies at the origins of a series of

narrative compilations whose versions in the West became known as *The Seven Sages (of Rome)*.[10] Two items corresponding to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* have been identified.

Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 8, pp. 50–51, no. 18 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 12; vol. 8, pp. 60–62, no. 26 = no. 40

Analogous tales occurring in both *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and the *1001 Nights* can be classified in two categories. First, there are the three tales translated from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* by Pétis de la Croix that the publisher had deliberately included in the eighth volume of Galland's translation.[11] A detailed comparison of the translations with their Ottoman Turkish originals is also bound to shed new light on the way Pétis de la Croix (or, for that matter, Alain Lesage) reworked the other texts from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* for publication in the *1001 Nights*.[12]

Marzolph and Van Leeuwen,[13] no. 348: *The Princess of Daryâbâr* (see also no. 18: *The First Qalandar's Tale*) = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 6; no. 345: *Zayn al-Asnâm* = no. 8; no. 347: *Khudâdâd and His Brothers* = no. 9

And second, there is a fair variety of corresponding tales and single motifs in the various manuscripts, translations, and editions of the *1001 Nights* that have been analyzed in the *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*.[14]

Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, no. 2 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 31; no. 6 = no. 17; no. 27 = no. 33; no. 30 = no. 20; no. 40 = no. 5; no. 63 (same legal practice) = no. 21; no. 72 = no. 32; no. 103 = no. 13; no. 142 = no. 14; no. 163 = no. 30; no. 176 = no. 8; no. 179 + 174 = no. 42; no. 185 = no. 12; no. 198 = no. 12; no. 205 = no. 40; no. 224 = no. 34; no. 226 = no. 5; no. 229 = no. 26; no. 260 = no. 32; no. 261 = no. 17; no. 270 = no. 42; no. 306 = no. 30; no. 316 = no. 42; no. 346 = no. 32; no. 390 = no. 40; no. 408 = no. 42; no. 412 = no. 32; no. 415 = no. 7; no. 430 (same legal practice) = no. 21; no. 443 (female version) = no. 17; no. 444 = no. 27; no. 465 (same legal practice) = no. 21; no. 477 = no. 40; no. 512 = no. 30; no. 516 = no. 7; no. 550 (same legal practice) = no. 21

In addition to these fairly well-studied works, it is fascinating to note that a total of six tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* meet with corresponding items in a late sixteenth- / early seventeenth-century Persian work that has not been taken into account by previous research.[15] This work is *Maḥbūb*

al-qulūb (The beloved of the hearts), a compilation of tales in one extended preface and five chapters composed by Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd Turkmān Farāhī "Mumtāz."[16] About the book's author, little more is known than that he lived under the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (reigned 1105/1694–1135/1723) and that for some years he served the governor of Khabūshān, a district situated in the Iranian province of Northern Khorasan close to the border of present-day Turkmenistan. The work, written in the ornate prose style representative of its period, is presented as the shorter version, reconstructed from memory, of a longer version that was lost and/or destroyed in the author's days. It is also known as *Shamsa va Qahqaha*, although the tale of the vizier Shamsa and the witch Qahqaha is but a frame tale with several embedded tales included in the larger work. Two of the collection's lengthy tales and a selection of the shorter ones have been translated into English by Edward Rehatsek (1819–1891). The texts from this rare publication were later reprinted with minor adaptations by William Alexander Clouston.[17] Today, Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd's little studied work, first published in a lithographed edition in Bombay in 1298/1881 and not available in a modern critical edition, is probably best known for its final tale, *Raʿnā va Zībā* (or *Zībā va Raʿnā*), a romance taking its title from the names of its two main protagonists that since the Qajar period has repeatedly been printed in separate, often illustrated editions, in Iran.[18]

We have no means to ascertain whether Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd adapted the tales corresponding to items in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* from a copy of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* or whether those tales simply belonged to the narrative stock of contemporary storytellers. Meanwhile, it is tempting to assume the former, since this would make *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* an "Eastern" equivalent to the contemporary *Mille et un jours* in that Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd would have selected, adapted, and rearranged the tales from *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* in a manner similar to that of Pétis de la Croix when he compiled his work from the tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. Incidentally, Pétis de la Croix's reworking of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* also inspired a work of modern Turkish literature, ʿAzīz Efendi's *Muhayyelat*, in a similar manner.[19] The following six tales in *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* correspond to tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* / *Jāmiʿ al-*

ḥikāyāt. Notably, most of the items constitute the respective tale's first documented occurrence in Persian literary tradition.

Maḥbūb al-qulūb, pp. 21/-3–33/13 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 31; pp. 30/-4–33/-7 = no. 40; pp. 78/3 ff. = no. 34 (single episode); pp. 239/4–243/3 = no. 15; pp. 269/11–275/10 = no. 7; pp. 310/1 ff. = no. 17

When Tietze discussed *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* in his 1951 conference paper, it was his explicit goal to present the work as a possible "medium for the dissemination of Oriental tales and motifs to the Occident."[20] In his extensive review of Wolfram Eberhard and Pertev Naili Boratav's *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* (The types of Turkish folktales), published in 1953,[21] Tietze repeatedly listed early versions of the Turkish folktales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* so as to argue for the work's relevance for and its impact on modern Turkish tradition. Since then, the standard reference work of comparative folk narrative studies, Antti Aarne's catalogue of folktales documented in Indo-European narrative tradition,[22] has been repeatedly revised and expanded, thus facilitating the task of relating the tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* to international (and neither predominantly nor exclusively Turkish) narrative tradition. The following international tale types correspond to tales, episodes, or important motifs in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.

ATU 156: *Androcles and the Lion* = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 23; ATU 314: *Goldener* = no. 32; ATU 562: *The Spirit in the Blue Light* = no. 41; ATU 575: *The Prince's Wings* = no. 13; ATU 612: *The Three Snake-Leaves* = no. 42; ATU 655: *The Wise Brothers* = no. 22; ATU 670: *The Man Who Understands Animal Languages* = no. 31; ATU 707: *The Maiden without Hands* = no. 9; ATU 712: *Crescentia* = no. 30; ATU 726: *The Three Old Men* = no. 31; ATU 844: *The Luck-Bringing Shirt* = no. 11; ATU 851: *The Princess Who Cannot Solve the Riddle* = nos. 25, 40; ATU 882 A*: *Suitors at the Spinning Wheel* = no. 3; ATU 888 A*: *The Basket Maker* = no. 40; ATU 890: *A Pound of Flesh* = no. 38; ATU 928: *Planting for the Next Generation* = no. 36; ATU 936*: *The Golden Mountain* = no. 35; ATU 938: *Placidas* = no. 42; ATU 976: *Which Was the Noblest Act?* = no. 22; ATU 978: *The Youth in the Land of Cheaters* = no. 40; ATU 1137: *The Blinded Ogre* = no. 35; ATU 1526: *The Old Beggar and the Robbers* = no. 34; ATU 1529: *Thief as Donkey* = no. 34; ATU 1533: *The Wise Carving of the Fowl*

= no. 24; ATU 1534: *Series of Clever Unjust Decisions* = no. 38; ATU 1591: *The Three Joint Depositors* = no. 22; ATU 1640: *The Brave Tailor* = no. 13; ATU 1645: *The Treasure at Home* = no. 8; ATU 1663: *Dividing Five Eggs Equally between Two Men and One Woman* = no. 24; ATU 1730: *The Entrapped Suitors* = nos. 3, 12; ATU 1737: *The Clergyman in the Sack to Heaven* = no. 34

In addition, some of the shorter tales or motifs are documented in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*:[23]

Mot. D 1426: *Magic Object Draws Woman to Man = Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 41; J 711.3: *King for a Year Provides for Future* = no. 23; Q 415.1: *Punishment: Being Eaten by Dogs* = no. 23

The German-language *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* quotes single tales from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* only rarely—in Kurt Ranke's entry on ATU 1526, an entry that summarizes Ranke's earlier essay on the same topic;[24] in Ranke's entry on ATU 655;[25] and in Jurjen van der Kooi's entry on ATU 844.[26] Ranke knew about the Ottoman Turkish collection from Tietze's review of the index of Turkish folktales by Eberhard and Boratav. Although similar data would usually have been perused and prepared by the editorial team of the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* for use in the encyclopedia's future entries dealing with specific tale types, active knowledge of the important historical reference in Tietze's review appears to have soon been lost, as the data are not referred to in any other entry. Consequently, although the Ottoman Turkish collection is mentioned in the entry on the *1001 Days*,[27] it does not have the separate entry it would have deserved.

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[1]Tietze, "Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*," p. 418.

[2]Ulrich Marzolph, "ʿAufi, Sadidoddin Moḥammad," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 14, cols. 1537–1540.

[3]For a complete list of partial editions available in 2014, see ibid., col. 1540n5.

[4]Muḥammad Niẓámu'd-din, *Introduction to the "Jawámiʿu'l-ḥikáyát wa lawámiʿu'r-riwáyát" of Sadídu'd-din Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí* (London: Luzac, 1929), pp. 140–261.

[5]Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen*, p. 26.

[6]Meier, “Turandot in Persien.”

[7]Ulrich Marzolph, “Papageienbuch,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 10, cols. 526–531.

[8]Mahroo Hatami, *Untersuchungen zum persischen Papageienbuch des Naḫšabī* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz, 1977).

[9]Muḥammad-ʿAlī Ẓahīrī Samarqandī, *Sindbād-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad-Bāqir Kamāl al-dīnī (Tehran: Mīrās-i maktūb, 2002); see the review of that edition by Ulrich Marzolph, *Marvels & Tales* 25, no. 2 (2011): 376–379.

[10]Bea Lundt, “Sieben weise Meister,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 12, cols. 654–660. For a detailed list of contents of the various versions, see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 8.

[11]Karateke, “Politics of Translation.”

[12]A comparison of the different versions of the tale of *Zayn al-Aṣnām* (*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 8) shows that Pétis de la Croix’s translation is essentially faithful to the original by the standards of the day. He translated fairly close to the original words, albeit often summarizing complex sentences in terms of meaning. As for content, he adapted or deleted some scenes while at the same time introducing new elements. For instance, he summarized most of the travel through fantastic landscapes in a single sentence. The demon ferryman does not have a lion’s but an elephant’s head; this enables him to heave his passengers aboard with his trunk. Pétis de la Croix deleted the protagonist’s adventures after the king of the demons had thrown him into the water, instead having the king accept the young woman without any further interventions. Rather than handing the protagonist some of his hair, the king of the demons gives him a mirror by which he can test the chastity of the young woman requested. In the end, the demon king promises the protagonist that he will find the ninth precious statue in his home. Instead of a precious statue, however, the protagonist finds his beloved, thus making him understand that there is nothing more precious than true (romantic) love. As the point of comparison with Pétis de la Croix’s translation is the Budapest manuscript in Tietze’s translation, a certain amount of variation might relate to the fact that Pétis de la Croix translated from a different manuscript whose details may or may not have differed.

[13]Ulrich Marzolph and Richard Van Leeuwen, *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2004).

[14]Ibid.

[15]The work is not mentioned in the standard reference work of Persian literature, Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1968).

[16]Hermann Ethé, “Neupersische Literatur,” in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ed. Wilhelm Geiger and Ernst Kuhn (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1896–1904), p. 333; Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭahrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa* (Teheran: al-Maktaba al-islāmiyya, 1381/1961), vol. 14, p. 225, no. 2303.

[17]Edward Rehatsek, *Amusing Stories, Translated from the Persian*, published by Dámodar Bábuljí Kirké (Bombay: Bombay Price Current Press, 1871); Rehatsek, *Fortune and Misfortune: Two Tales Translated from the Persian*, published by Janárdan Rámchandraji (Bombay: “Royal” Press, 1870); see William Alexander Clouston, *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories from the Persian, Tamil, and Urdu* (Glasgow: privately printed, 1889), pp. 3–190, 355–452. As always, Clouston’s insightful comments to the stories in the appendix (pp. 455–572), albeit outdated, are both instructive and amusing to read.

[18]Ulrich Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 269. The *editio princeps* of that book, not mentioned in this study, was apparently published in 1276.

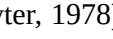
[19]Andreas Tietze, "ʿAzīz Efendis Muhayyelat," *Oriens* 1, no. 2 (1948): 248–329. The correspondence between tales in the *Muhayyelat* and the *1001 Nights* had already been noticed by E. J. W. Gibb, whose translation of the tale of Zayn al-aṣnām Burton reproduces; see Burton, *Arabian Nights*, vol. 13, pp. 41–47.

[20]Tietze, "Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*."

[21]Wolfram Eberhard and Pertev Naili Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1953); reviewed by Andreas Tietze, in *Oriens* 7 (1954): 141–152; see, in particular, the references for nos. 120, 125, 133, 135, 140, 146, 198, 208, 212, 213, 219, 228, 231, 246, 258, 264, 277, 291, 296, 297, 341, 348, 365, Anlage C no. 11.

[22]Antti Amatus Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen, Mit Hülfe von Fachgenossen ausgearbeitet* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1910); Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale: Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen, Translated and Enlarged* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1928); Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1961); Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography: Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*, 3 vols. (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2004). The work's final revision is commonly cited as ATU.

[23]Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–1958), commonly cited as Mot.

[24]Kurt Ranke, "Bettler als Pfand," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 2, col. 266; Ranke, "Der Bettler als Pfand: Geschichte eines Schwanks in Occident und Orient," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 76 (1957): 149–162, 358–364; also in Ranke, *Die Welt der Einfachen Formen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), pp. 224–243. The curious typo in the collection's title (*Ferec ba'd* ) has faithfully been transferred from the essay to the reprint and to the encyclopedic entry.

[25]Kurt Ranke, "Brüder: Die scharfsinnigen B.," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 2, col. 881.

[26]Jurjen van der Kooi, "Hemd des Glücklichen," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 6, col. 812, note 28. Van der Kooi refers to Tietze, "ʿAzīz Efendis Muhayyelat," p. 289.

[27]Marzolph, "Tausendundein Tag."

Genres of Tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*

A classification of the tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* according to genres is instructive in several ways, as it reveals the collection's structure as well as the perception and popularity of tales of magic in the narrative traditions of the Muslim world. The vast majority of tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* belong to a genre whose representatives in premodern Arabic literature (and, by extension, its representatives in the other premodern literatures of the Muslim world) are characterized by the terms *ʿajīb* (marvelous or astonishing) and *gharīb* (strange).[1] It is this genre that reigns in the *1001 Nights* and its sibling collections, the fourteenth-century *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-ʿajība wa-'l-akhbār al-gharība* (translated as *Tales of the Marvellous and News of the Strange*)[2] and *Miʾat Layla wa-layla* (A hundred and one nights), whose oldest manuscript probably dates to the thirteenth century,[3] as well as numerous anonymously compiled single tales and collections thereof.

Tietze's unpublished German translation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* usually renders the corresponding Ottoman Turkish terms as *seltsam* (strange; forty-one times), *merkwürdig* (odd; nine times), *erstaunlich* (amazing; six times) or *wunderlich* (marvelous; four times), occurring a total of sixty times in the collection's forty-two tales. Most often the adjectives, adverbs, or their related nouns denote people, events, objects, or animals or other beings. But in addition to this, they also serve to characterize complete tales, thus revealing the major concern for compiling the collection under

consideration or even for storytelling in general. For instance, in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 6, when Farrukh-zād has told his tale to the princess of Daryābār, she responds by saying, "This is a marvelous story [*ʿaceb ḥikāyet*], but my story is still more marvelous [*ʿaceb-dür*]!"[4] At the beginning of no. 10, the travelers agree that if all of them tell a tale, they would carry the one whose tale is the strangest (*ġarīb*).[5] In no. 15, the old man Sarīb al-Jurhumī tells a tale when challenged with the words, "What marvelous events (*ʿacāyib*) have you seen or heard of?"[6] In the concluding assessment of no. 28, the events witnessed by ʿAdīs are characterized as "marvels" (*ʿacāyibāt*).[7] When the caliph is told about Khālid's adventures (no. 33), they are promised to be "a strange story" (*ġarīb ḥikāyet*).[8] At the beginning of no. 34, a man and a woman promise to tell a tale about "a marvelous event" (*ʿaceb ḥāl*) they have experienced.[9] When in no. 4 the king gives orders to build a spectacular castle, the resulting building is "marvelous and strange" (*ʿacīb ü ġarīb*; Tietze translates "ein wunderbares, eigenartiges Schloss").[10] And when in no. 16 the vizier ʿAlī b. al-Haytham tells the story of Manṣūr, the son of the jeweler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he introduces the story with the words, "O commander of the faithful! In this respect I have heard a marvelous and strange tale" (*bir ʿacīb ü ġarīb keleci*).[11]

Tales that are either *ʿajīb* or *gharīb* (or both) form a broad category. In addition to the entertainment value of this category, it aims to inspire awe and amazement by treating astonishing examples of characters, events, or objects that surpass the ordinary by far. Tales of this genre are, to use a term of European studies of literature, *exempla*. *Exempla* constitute a functional genre that comprises a large variety of literary genres such as historical or religious legends, folk or fairy tales, humorous tales, and even anecdotes or jokes.[12] But beyond telling these tales for their perfunctory entertainment value, *exempla* have a didactic function. They use tales of different literary genres to demonstrate exemplary cases that teach the readership or audience a basic message (which, in the medieval Christian context, is more often than not in the service of religious propaganda). Similarly, in the Muslim context, tales of the marvelous and strange demonstrate extraordinary human behavior or events surpassing the normal horizon of experience so

as to teach the readers or audience that there is more to life and living reality than the ordinary experience. Some of these tales relate to the physical character of beings or other natural phenomena, thus constituting *mirabilia*.[13] But more important than physical phenomena are events, often experienced in person.

These examples of the extraordinary serve different functions: they constitute an outlet to soothe the audience and distract them from the routine and hardships of their daily chores; they present ideals that the listeners might strive to follow; and, above all, they demonstrate and teach that nothing at all is unimaginable or impossible, since the almighty God potentially allows all kinds of phenomena to exist, whether their moral and ethical connotations are positive or negative and whether the tales' protagonists are magnanimous, hospitable, generous, or faithful to the extreme or are despicable, resourceful, and harmful to society beyond socially compatible norms. In this manner, and similar to the European *exempla*, tales of the marvelous and strange are not only entertaining and instructive but outright didactic. As Aboubakr Chraïbi has pointed out, understanding the common character of tales belonging to this category as "generic determinant" is key to understanding the raison d'être for the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* and other similar compilations.[14]

Aiming to classify the tales of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* according to this understanding, we see that the majority of tales belong to this functional genre. Its recurring themes are magnanimity, generosity, and hospitality; trickery, including envy, deceitfulness, and resourcefulness; love and faithfulness in love; and destiny, including the consequences of wise rule as well as tyranny. The majority of tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, altogether twenty-five items, may thus be classified as belonging to the genre of tales of the marvelous and strange.

1. *Abū 'l-Qāsim from Basra* (hospitality, generosity)
2. *Fażlallāh from Mosul* (enmity, envy, trickery, generosity)
3. *The Wife of the Builder of Bam* (envy, trickery, faithfulness)
5. *Farrukh-shād, Farrukh-rūz, and Farrukh-nāz* (fateful love, trickery)

6. *The Vizier, the King's Daughter, and the Witch* (destiny)
7. *The ʿAyyār Naṣr* (magnanimity)
9. *Khudādād* (envy, supernatural healing)
10. *The Three Young Men, the Old Man, and the Princess* (various; female resourcefulness)
11. *The Carefree King and the Sorrowful Vizier* (vanity)
12. *The Wife of the Goldsmith* (female resourcefulness, faithfulness)
13. *The Weaver and the Carpenter* (trickery)
16. *Manṣūr, the Son of the Jeweler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (luck)
19. *The Princess of Kashmir and the Merchant from Khorasan* (haughtiness punished, love)
21. *Shābūr from Kāzarūn* (fate, love, faithfulness)
22. *The Three Brothers and Their Adventure with the Kadi* (cleverness)
23. *The King, the Vizier, and the Dogs* (tyranny, wisdom)
25. *Prince Khalaf* (tyranny, love, haughtiness, resourcefulness)
29. *The Barmakid Yaḥyā and the Blind Man* (cleverness)
30. *Ūrvīya* (piety, supernatural healing)
31. *Solomon and the Phoenix* (destiny)
32. *The Baldheaded Gardener and the Daughter of the King of Yemen* (love, resourcefulness)
34. *Dalle the Cheater and Her Adversaries* (female trickery and deceitfulness)
37. *Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī, the Miser, and the Caravan* (hospitality, magnanimity)
39. *Bānū and Dustūr* (the vicissitudes of love)
40. *Sīmjūr and Chīpūr* (resourcefulness, trickery)

Although the appearance of supernatural characters such as benevolent fairies or malevolent demons or the working of supernatural forces such as sorcery or witchcraft is not a necessary ingredient of these tales, tales of the supernatural may be regarded as a subcategory of tales of the marvelous and strange. Tales of the supernatural add yet another marvelous and strange ingredient to these tales in that they demonstrate the boundlessness of God's power, thus inspiring even more awe and amazement, such as in the following tales.

4. *Riżvān and the Dame Shahristānī* (relations with the supernatural, sorcery)
8. *Zayn al-Aṣnām* (relations with the supernatural)
15. *Belqīs* (relations with the supernatural)
17. *The Witch Shamse and Ṭāhir from Basra* (envy, relations with the supernatural, sorcery)
26. *Badīʿ al-Jamāl and Sayf al-Mulūk* (relations with the supernatural, love, sorcery)
27. *Tamīm al-Dārī* (violation of religious precepts, relations with the supernatural)
28. *Dukayn, Ḥabīb, and the Young Woman* (sorcery)
35. *Abū 'l-Favāris* (deceit, relations with the supernatural, resourcefulness)
42. *Akhī Khurdak and the Much-Traveled Man* (relations with the supernatural, resourcefulness, fate)

And yet tales of the marvelous and strange are not the only category of tales that talented storytellers would present to their audience. At times, they would insert tales or anecdotes of a decidedly historical character, thereby authenticating the marvelous atmosphere with tales whose protagonists or events are beyond reasonable doubt by linking them to undisputed or well-known historical characters. These characters and events would possess an exemplary notion for the traits that the tales of the marvelous and strange demonstrate or that link to distant historical periods that in tradition have

gained an exemplary notion by themselves. In *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, two of these historical anecdotes (nos. 14 and 37) link to characters from Arabic history, while Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna (reigned 998–1030; no. 36) in Persian tradition is the stereotypical counterpart to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned 786–809) as far as justice and magnanimity are concerned. Tale no. 41 relates to a historical period that is so distant as to vanish in the mist of mystery and imagination, so that all kinds of marvelous and strange events or actions appear as perfectly natural.

14. *Isḥāq from Mosul* (love)
36. *Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (just rule, magnanimity)
37. *Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī, the Miser, and the Caravan* (hospitality, magnanimity)
41. *The Bārbāh of Belīnās and Bukhtnaṣr's Vizier* (sorcery)

Finally, yet another stratagem of the storytellers who compiled *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* is the technique of *prodesse et delectare* that is traditionally linked to the ancient poet Horace's famous dictum.[15] Known in Arabic as a combination of *al-jidd wa-'l-hazl* (seriousness and jocularity),[16] this technique aims to lighten up an atmosphere that risks becoming too serious or stern by inserting jocular tales whose attractiveness relies on *schadenfreude* or sheer absurdity, thus offering joy and amusement beyond direct or implicit moral or ethical implications.

18. *The Thief and the Kadi*
20. *The Kadi of Bagdad*
24. *Lavvāḥa and the Moneychanger Besher*
33. *Khālid and the Garrulous Barber*
34. *Dalle the Cheater and Her Adversaries* (female trickery)
38. *The Muslim, the Jew, and the Kadi of Ḥimṣ*

In is interesting to note that, in the same manner as the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* contains (not only but predominantly) tales of the marvelous (*ʿajīb*) and strange (*gharīb*), the vaguely contemporary Arabic collection *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-ʿajība wa-'l-akhbār al-gharība*, whose title[17] explicitly refers to tales of the marvelous and strange, contains to a certain extent tales of the genre *faraj baʿd al-shidda*, or "relief after hardship."[18] The latter genre, whose best-known representative in classical Arabic literature is the *Kitāb al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* compiled by al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī (d. 994),[19] covers tales in which the protagonist—often, though not necessarily, starting from a somewhat precarious situation—initially suffers a deterioration of his situation but in the end experiences a happy resolution of his difficulties. Several of the tales' titles in the *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-ʿajība wa-'l-akhbār al-gharība* (nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11 in the collection's only preserved first volume) explicitly mention the respective tales as belonging to this category. The convergence of titles and contents in both books is certainly not coincidental. Rather, it indicates a certain overlap or equivalence of both genres, that is, "tales of the marvelous and strange" and "tales of relief after hardship." In other words, whereas the two genres are not identical, a certain percentage of tales of the marvelous and strange might be tales of relief after hardship, while a certain percentage of tales of relief after hardship might be tales of the marvelous and strange.

As for the overall composition of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, the foregoing categorization of genres supports the assumption that the "original" Persian collection might have contained roughly the initial half of the tales translated into Ottoman Turkish, as this initial half presents a fairly homogeneous collection of tales of the marvelous and strange. Although the latter half is also dominated by tales belonging to this genre, particularly the items in the collection's final quarter demonstrate a higher degree of variation by introducing an increased number of both historical and jocular tales. It is particularly revealing that the collection's first tale of a historical character is only no. 14 and that the first jocular tale is no. 18.

[1]See Aboubakr Chraïbi's introduction to his edited volume *Arabic Manuscripts of the Thousand and One Nights* (Paris: espaces&signes, 2016), pp. 13–62, particularly pp. 40–60.

[2]*Tales of the Marvellous and News of the Strange*, trans. Malcolm C. Lyons (London: Penguin, 2014); see also *Das Buch der wundersamen Geschichten: Erzählungen aus der Welt von 1001 Nacht*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph, using the translations of Hans Wehr, Otto Spies, Max Weisweiler, and Sophia Grotzfeld (Munich: Beck, 1999); see also the assessment of the collection in Aboubakr Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits: Histoire du texte et classification des contes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 49–56.

[3]Ulrich Marzolph, "Hundertundeine Nacht," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 14, cols. 1705–1708; see *Les cents et une nuits*, trans. and ed. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris: Sindbad, 1982); *Hundertundeine Nacht*, trans. Claudia Ott (Zurich: Manesse, 2012). A new edition of the Arabic text together with an English translation, *A Hundred and One Nights*, by Bruce Fudge has recently been published (New York: NYU Press, 2016).

[4]*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, ed. Hazai and Tietze, vol. 1, p. 185 (fol. 45.b. [4]).

[5]Ibid., p. 233 (fol. 66.b. [17]).

[6]Ibid., p. 281 (fol. 87.b. [20–21]).

[7]Ibid., p. 484 (fol. 172.b. [16]).

[8]Ibid., p. 565 (fol. 212.b. [20]).

[9]Ibid., p. 569 (fol. 213.a. [20]).

[10]Ibid., p. 148 (fol. 28.a. [13]).

[11]Ibid., p. 287 (fol. 90.a. [17]).

[12]Christoph Daxelmüller, "Exemplum," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 4, cols. 627–649.

[13]See also Marinos Sariyanni, "Ajāʾib ve gharāʾib: Ottoman Collections of Mirabilia and Perceptions of the Supernatural," *Der Islam* 92 (2015): 442–467.

[14]Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 51.

[15]Ulrich Marzolph, "Prodesse et delectare," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 14, cols. 1800–1803.

[16]Charles Pellat, "Seriousness and Humour in Early Islam," *Islamic Studies* 3 (1963): 353–362; Pellat, "al-Djidd wa 'l-Hazl," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. H. A. R. Gibb, E. Lévi-Provençal, and J. Schacht, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), p. 536; see also Ludwig Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft: Die Regelung von Lachen und Scherzen im mittelalterlichen Islam* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993); Ulrich Marzolph, "The Muslim Sense of Humour," in *Humour and Religion: Challenges and Ambiguities*, ed. Hans Geybels and Walter Van Herck (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 169–187, particularly pp. 172–177.

[17]The anonymous manuscript does not have a title. The commonly used title has been established from the sentence introducing the list of contents in the original manuscript.

[18]See Alfred Wiener, "Die Farağ baʿd aš-šidda Literatur. Von Madāʾinī (†225 H) bis Tanūḫī (†384 H). Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte," *Der Islam* 4 (1913): 270–298, 387–420.

[19]Julia Bray, “Tanūḫī,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 14, cols. 1822–1826. So far, no English translation of al-Tanūkhī’s book is available. For translations in other European languages, see at-Tanūkhī, *Ende gut, alles gut: Das Buch der Erleichterung nach der Bedrängnis*, trans. Arnold Hottinger (Zurich: Manesse, 1979); Al-Tanūḫī, *Il sollievo dopo la distretta*, trans. Antonella Ghersetti (Milan: Ariele, 1995).

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde and "Middle Literature" in the Muslim World

In a work on Giovanfrancesco Straparola's (c. 1480–c. 1557) *Piacevoli notti* (The facetious nights), Ruth Bottigheimer has proposed this particular author as the "inventor" of the modern European fairy tale.[1] Bottigheimer's thesis has been much critiqued and, in fact, repudiated by narrative scholars from various disciplines, particularly in a special issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* edited by Dan Ben-Amos, with contributions by Jan Ziolkowski, Francisco Vaz da Silva, and Ben-Amos.[2] Bottigheimer's recent book, *Magic Tales and Fairy Tale Magic: From Ancient Egypt to the Italian Renaissance*,[3] is her response to that critique, one of whose main arguments was the fact that fairy tales much in the same form as they later spread all over Europe existed long before Straparola in a variety of cultural contexts. To counter that argument, Bottigheimer now presents a global assessment of "magic tales" in Egyptian, Greek, and Roman sources, in Jewish literature, in the literatures of medieval Christian Europe, and in the "Muslim Middle Ages." Without intending to discuss Bottigheimer's thesis or her new book in detail, the present study argues that the European tale of magic owes still more, and probably much more, to Middle Eastern tradition than is currently acknowledged.

Bottigheimer's chapter "Magic Tales in the Muslim Middle Ages"[4] exclusively discusses tales in Arabic collections, focusing on *The Thousand*

and One Nights and its sibling collections, the *Tales of the Marvellous and News of the Strange* and the *Hundred and One Nights*.[5] While the *1001 Nights* has been available in numerous translations into English and other languages prepared since the nineteenth century, the author was able to consider both of the latter collections mainly because very recent translations had become available. As a matter of fact, the *Hundred and One Nights* came to the author's attention only through Claudia Ott's 2012 German translation (treated in a "Coda" to the chapter),[6] although the French translation by Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1862–1957)[7] had originally been published in 1911 and would have been readily available in the 1982 reprint. Neither Persian nor Ottoman Turkish tales are taken into account. In the present context, detailing Bottigheimer's somewhat reductive consideration of "Magic Tales in the Muslim Middle Ages" mainly serves as an argument that translations and scholarly evaluations of the rich narrative tradition of the Muslim world are, to say the least, much needed to enable international scholarship to arrive at more informed and more nuanced assessments. Critics such as Cristina Bacchilega have pointed out that Bottigheimer articulates "an exclusively book-centered approach to the genre" of fairy tales, thus depriving of history those people without written documentation of their narratives.[8] Whereas this statement holds true, the present study proves that even when restricting history to books as written documents of past narrative traditions, there is more to take into account than has previously been acknowledged.

As far as premodern Arabic narrative literature is concerned, at least three areas deserve to be explored in greater depth. First, the *1001 Nights* were by far not as marginal a phenomenon in the Arab world as previous research would make one believe, as Chraïbi convincingly argues in the introduction to the recent volume *Arabic Manuscripts of the Thousand and One Nights*;[9] second, a vast body of tales exists outside of the *1001 Nights*, whether in authored literature or in anonymously compiled manuscripts, many of which date from after the classical period of Arabic literature; and third, the concept of "middle literature," recently suggested by Chraïbi for "middle-Arabic literature,"[10] needs to be implemented in all its implications. "Middle-Arabic literature" is not only defined by its linguistic

level, which ranges somewhere between the classical and colloquial languages.[11] In addition, texts of "middle-Arabic literature" share a number of criteria related to their content, including the facts that they (a) are anonymously compiled, (b) are of a narrative nature, and (c) mainly entail tales of the marvelous and strange.[12] The Iranian scholar Muḥammad Jaʿfar Maḥjūb has discussed anonymous Persian narrative literature in similar terms some fifty years ago, arguing that Persian literature also knows a register between elite literature and folk literature.[13] *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* now demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt that the concept of "middle literature," as far as the narrative contents are concerned, also holds valid for premodern Ottoman Turkish literature.

Premodern Arabic narrative literature[14] has long been internationally acknowledged through the *1001 Nights*. Meanwhile, the study of Persian narrative prose literature of the premodern Muslim period has not received adequate international attention.[15] As is generally known, the origins of the *1001 Nights* go back to the pre-Islamic Persian collection *Hizār afsān*. Quite unfortunately, the tenth-century Arabic sources from which we derive our knowledge only mention the frame tale of that collection, and not a single tale that can reliably be documented to have been included in the original *Hizār afsān* is known.[16] Frustrating as this assessment is, the exploration of the literary genre of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* probably brings us close to the genre of tales included in *Hizār afsān*, whose tales to a certain extent might well have been tales of the marvelous and strange such as preserved in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* / *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*.[17] This argument can also help to explain the relatively late translation of the Arabic *Alf layla wa-layla* to Persian, which was achieved only in the nineteenth century:[18] since a collection of similar tales in Persian existed, readers might not have felt the need for a translation.

Ottoman Turkish narrative literature deserves serious consideration primarily, but not only, for its translations from both Arabic and Persian. Ottoman Turkish translations of the *1001 Nights* were available several centuries before Galland's French translation,[19] and the least that the example of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* shows is that it is also highly relevant for

the reconstruction of lost narrative sources of early Persian literature of the Muslim period. Considering the vibrant political and commercial relations between Europe and the Ottoman empire, Ottoman Turkish literature is also a suitable candidate for the transmission of tales East to West long before the translation of the *1001 Nights*. As research into the history of the *1001 Nights* and similar collections has repeatedly argued,[20] tales from written collections could well have been transmitted from one culture to another by way of oral tradition, and there is no good reason to deny tales from a collection as widespread and influential in its local context as *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* this influence. In relation to the copy of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* that Galland had bought in Constantinople in 1673,[21] Tietze was convinced that the book was one of those items that booksellers would lend to customers for reading or copying.[22] In a catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the Royal Library at Vienna, Gustav Flügel even labeled a copy of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* a "coffee-house copy" (*Kaffeehausexemplar*), since the introductory passage mentions a *meddāḥ*, that is, a professional entertainer in the urban context.[23] Tietze furthermore argued that by being lent out numerous times and by being read in public to considerable audiences, even a single manuscript could become a veritable "Volksbuch"—a term that in the European context is usually applied to printed books that potentially reached a wide audience because they were produced and read in hundreds of copies.[24] Public performances of the written text would thus potentially lead to oral retellings, and both ways of performance could in their turn result in the collection's tales being transmitted to members of an international audience.

Finally, if thoroughly explored, the "middle literatures" of the Muslim world might well reveal surprising insights relevant for the history of the European fairy tale. Obvious as it may be to experts of the literatures of the Muslim world, the concept of "relief after hardship" that reigns in much of the "middle literatures" of the Muslim world has the same basic structure as the European fairy tale. As in the European fairy tale, the protagonist undergoes a series of trials and tribulations before he attains a lasting amelioration of his status. Particularly the category of tales of the marvelous and strange in which supernatural characters or elements

interfere (as identified earlier) are relevant in this respect. In these tales, as in the European fairy tale, the protagonist is often of royal descent but might also be of lowly origins; and in these tales, the permanent amelioration of the protagonist's status would usually result in marriage with a princess (or, according to Muslim law, up to four different spouses) and the attainment of wealth (as the ruler's son-in-law) and power (as the ruler's successor)—the three elements that document the attainment of ultimate happiness for the audience of the European fairy tale. Although the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* dates at best from the late fourteenth century, its sources in Persian and Arabic literature are older, and probably much older, thus predating Straparola and other European compilers of fairy tales by far. The work's importance thus not only lies in transmitting specific tales East to West in terms of content. In addition, the work might well have had an inspiring impact on the genre of fairy tales that subsequently was to enjoy international success.

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[1]Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti*: Rags to Riches Fairy Tales as Urban Creations," *Marvels & Tales* 8 (1994): 281–296; Bottigheimer, *Fairy Godfather: Straparola, Venice, and the Fairy Tale Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

[2]Dan Ben-Amos, "Introduction: The European Fairy-Tale Tradition between Orality and Literacy," *Journal of American Folklore* 123, no. 490 (2010): 373–376; Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Straparola and the Fairy Tale: Between Literary and Oral Traditions," ibid., pp. 377–397; Francisco Vaz da Silva, "The Invention of Fairy Tales, " ibid., pp. 398–425; Dan Ben-Amos, "Straparola: The Revolution That Was Not," ibid., pp. 426–446.

[3]Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Magic Tales and Fairy Tale Magic: From Ancient Egypt to the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[4]Ibid., pp. 84–120.

[5]See p. 35n2 and n3.

[6]*Hundertundeine Nacht*, trans. Ott.

[7]*Les cents et une nuits*, trans. and ed. Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

[8]Cristina Bacchilega, *Fairy Tales Transformed? Twenty-First-Century Adaptations and the Politics of Wonder* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), pp. 196–199, quote at p. 198.

[9]Chraïbi, introduction to *Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 15–64.

[10]Chraïbi, *Les milles et une nuits*, pp. 15–20; Chraïbi, introduction to *Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 60–62.

[11]Jérôme Lentin and Jacques Grand'Henry, eds., *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire* (Louvain-La-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 2008); Liesbeth Zack and Arie Schippers, eds., *Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic: Diachrony and Synchrony* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[12]Chraïbi has defined a total of ten criteria for middle literature in Arabic; see Chraïbi, introduction to *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 61.

[13]See, in particular, Muḥammad Jaʿfar Maḥjūb, "Muṭāliʿa-yi dāstānhā-yi ʿāmmiyāna-yi fārsī," in *Adabīyāt-i ʿāmmiyāna-yi Īrān*, pp. 121–160 (originally published in 1962).

[14]The term "premodern narrative literature" here denotes shorter narratives of a "fairy tale" character and excludes long epics and romances that abound in both Persian and Arabic, many of which share features of the marvelous and the strange. For the latter see, e.g., Ẕabīḥallāh Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsa-sarāʾī dar Īrān* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1363/1984); M. C. Lyons, *The Arabian Epic: Heroic and Oral Story-Telling*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1995).

[15]Premodern Persian literature is mainly known in the West through translations of its great poets, above all Ferdowsī, Rumi, Saʿdī, and Khayyām. English translations of the kind of relatively short narratives concerned here date mainly to the nineteenth century; see Clouston, *Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*; Clouston, *The Book of Sindibād; or, The Story of the King, His Son, the Damsel, and the Seven Vazīrs: From the Persian and Arabic* (Glasgow: privately printed, 1884); Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden and Other Papers* (London: David Nutt, 1890); Rehatsek, *Amusing Stories*; Rehatsek, *Fortune and Misfortune*; Jonathan Scott, *Bahar Danush or Garden of Knowledge: An Oriental Romance Translated from the Persic of Einaïatollah* (London, T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1799); Scott, *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters from the Arabic and Persian* (London, T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1800); *Tales of a Parrot; Done into English, from a Persian Manuscript, Intitled Tooti Nâmeh* (London: privately printed, 1792), reprinted as *The Tooti Nameh, or Tales of a Parrot: In the Persian Language, with an English Translation* (London: J. Debrett, 1801).

[16]For the most recent treatment of *Hizār afsān* and the impact of its translation on Arabic literature, see Chraïbi, introduction to *Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 15–21; Jiří Cejpek, "The Iranian Element in the *Book of a Thousand and One Nights* and Similar Collections," in "Iranian Folk Literature," pp. 663–666, aims to identify tales of Iranian origin in the *1001 Nights*. Bahrām Bayżāʾī's study *Hizār afsān kujāst?* (Tehran: Rawshangarān, 1391/2012) contains a harsh critique of previous Western scholarship and numerous suggestions relating the work to the Iranian context.

[17]Chraïbi, introduction to *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 51.

[18]See ʿAlī Būẕarī, "Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī wa chāpī-yi Hizār va yak shab dar Īrān," in *Hizār va yak shab 1261 q*. (Qom: ʿAṭf, 1394/2016), pp. 27–57.

[19]Delio Vania Proverbio, "The Arabian Nights through Some Ancient-Osmanlı Translations," in Chraïbi, *Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 367–429; Johannes Thomann, "Die frühesten türkischen Übersetzungen von *Tausendundeiner Nacht* und deren Bedeutung für die arabische Textgeschichte," *Asiatische Studien* 70, no. 1 (2016): 171–219.

[20]See, most recently, Paulo Horta, "Beautiful Men and Deceitful Women: The *One Hundred and One Nights* and World Literature," *Narrative Culture* 2, no. 2 (2015): 190–207.

[21]Ulrich Marzolph, "A Scholar in the Making: Galland's Early Travel Diaries in the Light of Comparative Folk Narrative Research," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 18, no. 3 (2016): 300–317.

[22]Tietze, “Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*,” p. 416.

[23]Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlichen und königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 2 (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1865), pp. 31–32, no. 798; quoted in Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen*, p. 24. For a short characterization of the *meddāḥ* in context, see Karl Reichl, “Medieval Turkish Epic and Popular Narrative,” in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 696–697.

[24]Jan-Dirk Müller, “Volksbuch,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 14, cols. 309–324.

Postscript

Probably because of its unpretentious title, “An Early Persian Miscellany,” the pivotal importance of the short essay published in 1971 by G. M. Meredith-Owens has so far not been noticed.[1] In this essay, Meredith-Owens introduced a previously unknown and apparently unique Persian manuscript in the British Library whose uncatalogued holdings he had just surveyed.[2] The manuscript is particularly pertinent for the present discussion, as it represents the oldest, and probably even the original Persian version of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* that the above considerations have hypothesized to exist prior to the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.

The manuscript’s title is *Muʾnis-nāma* (The book as an intimate friend), and its contents have been characterized as “a collection of Traditions, maxims, tales and anecdotes of an ethical character.”[3] The book’s author is a certain Abū Bakr ibn Khusraw al-Ustād, about whom no information in addition to the titles of six of his other works mentioned in the book’s preface is available. Although the manuscript dates from the sixteenth century, the book was originally compiled at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. This is evident from the fact that the author has dedicated his work to the reigning sovereign, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad Īldigiz, Atabeg of Azerbaijan, who reigned from 591/1194 to 607/1210. The *Muʾnis-nāma* was thus compiled some two centuries prior to the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.

The *Muʾnis-nāma* has a table of contents detailing the nature of its seventeen chapters. Chapters 1 to 16 (fol. 5a–61a) mainly pertain to the field of wisdom literature and are not of interest here. Chapter 17 is titled "On the sayings of great men and stories which contain a moral truth" (*dar kalimāt-i buzurgān va rumūz va ishārāt va amthāl-i parākanda* [fol. 4a]). Starting on fol. 61a and finishing on fol. 365a, it contains a total of 31 tales. The listed titles of the tales (some of which are missing in the text due to lacunae) make it possible to determine equivalents for 27 (out of 31) tales from *Muʾnis-nāma* in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*: *Muʾnis-nāma*, no. 1 = *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 2; 2 = 3; 3 = 1; 4 = 6; 5 = 7; 6 = 8; 7 = 9; 8 = 10; 9 = 11; 10 = 12; 11 =13; 12 = 14; 13 = 15; 14 = 16; 15 = 17; 16 = 19; 17 = 20; 18 = 21; 19 = 22; 20 = 23; 21 = 24; 22 = 37; 23 = 36; 24 = 25; 25 = 26; 27 = 31; 30 = 30. The exact equivalence for no. 28: *Pisar-i Khālid-i jawharī* is not clear.[4] There are no equivalents for three items: *Muʾnis-nāma*, no. 26: *Aṣḥāb-i kahf* corresponds to *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, mss. A, no. 1, and J, no. 10; no. 29: *Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ Kirmānī* (whose content Meredith-Owens summarized) does not belong to the standard corpus of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* and "has apparently been included because of its local interest;"[5] no. 31: *Bulūqīyā* corresponds to *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, no. 177. The sequence of tales in both collections is to a certain extent identical. In addition, *Muʾnis-nāma* contains three previously undocumented equivalents from the corpus of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, viz. for *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, nos. 23, 36, and 37. For the 42 tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, the 27 corresponding versions in *Muʾnis-nāma* are as follows: *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 1 = *Muʾnis-nāma*, no. 3; 2 = 1; 3 = 2; 6 = 4; 7 = 5; 8 = 6; 9 = 7; 10 = 8; 11 = 9; 12 = 10; 13 = 11; 14 = 12; 15 = 13; 16 = 14; 17 = 15; 19 = 16; 20 = 17; 21 = 18; 22 = 19; 23 = 20; 24 = 21; 25 = 24; 26 = 25; 30 = 30; 31 = 27; 36 = 23; 37 = 22.

Already a previous owner of the manuscript (which was acquired in 1920 from Mr. Ter Avetissian) appears to have noticed the corresponding content to Pétis de la Croix's *1001 Days*, as documented by a note written in Russian. Meredith-Owens himself is perfectly aware of the fact that "all the tales belong to the anonymous cycle of forty-two" in the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*,[6] although his assessment of only one exception is somewhat overoptimistic.

A thorough scrutiny of the tales in *Muʾnis-nāma* and their relative overlap with either the Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* or the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* is beyond the limited scope of the present short postscript that the publishers have kindly permitted me to add while the second proofs are already being prepared. Although the bearings of this new discovery will have to be considered with great care once the full text of *Muʾnis-nāma* becomes available, they can hardly be overestimated.

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[1]G. M. Meredith-Owens. “An Early Persian Miscellany.” In *Iran and Islam: In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*. ed. by C. E. Bosworth. Edinburgh: University Press, 1971, pp. 435–441. Referring to the original publication, albeit without mentioning the original author, the article’s Persian translation has been published by Muḥammad Naẓarī Hāshimī. “Jongī qadīmī bih zabān-i fārsī.” *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi adabīyāt va ʿulūm-i insānī-yi Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī-ye Mashhad* 33, nos. 1–2 (1379/2000), pp. 122–128. I am tremendously grateful to Nasrin Askari for mentioning the manuscript and the Persian article to me in a truly cooperative manner, and for suggesting that I advertise her discovery in the present postscript.

[2]G. M. Meredith-Owens. *Handlist of Persian Manuscripts 1896–1966*. London: British Museum, 1968, p. 46 (Or. 9317). See also http://www.fihrist.org.uk/profile/manuscript/539e2111-61be-4e10-90d4-7d3d245527e1 (accessed November 16, 2016).

[3]Meredith-Owens, “An Early Persian Miscellany,” p. 435.

[4]Between nos. 28 and 29, the copyist has added the story of “Manṣūr and Yūsuf the phlebotomist,” corresponding to *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 33.

[5]Meredith-Owens, “An Early Persian Miscellany,” p. 438.

[6]Ibid.

Summaries of and Comments on the Tales

Within the limited scope of the present survey, it is not possible to do justice to each and every aspect of the tales in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. The main purpose of the summaries is to make the content of the tales available to international research and particularly to those researchers who do not have access to the material in the original languages, that is, Ottoman Turkish or Persian and, to some extent, Arabic. The section “Texts and Translations” mentions the relevant tale’s position in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* (including translations), followed by a listing of the tale’s version or versions documented in copies of the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*. The comments aim to supply basic references to comparative material, both in “Oriental” tradition, that is, in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources, and in international “folkloric” tradition, the latter often by way of the international index of tale types, ATU.

1. Abū ’l-Qāsim from Basra, the Emir of Basra, and Abū ’l-Fatḥ from Wāsiṭ

Hārūn al-Rashīd’s vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ reproaches the caliph for selfishly praising his own magnanimity, whereas the generosity of a certain Abū ’l-Qāsim in Basra exceeds the caliph’s. Enraged by the provocative remark, the caliph has the vizier thrown into prison but then sets out to see whether his claims are true.

In Basra, he is lavishly entertained by Abū ’l-Qāsim and is shown three exquisite objects. The first one is a tree made of gold, silver, and jewels in whose branches there is a golden peacock that sprays musk. A beautiful young man presents the second object, a goblet carved from a solid ruby that is filled with delicious wine and that fills up automatically when empty. The third one is a precious lute presented by a maiden of ravishing beauty. When Hārūn has enjoyed Abū ’l-Qāsim’s hospitality for some days and prepares to leave, his host gives him the precious goods as gifts, in addition to numerous other costly presents. Hārūn is so overwhelmed by his host’s generosity that after his return to Bagdad he writes a letter to the emir of Basra commanding him to step down from his position and transfer it to Abū ’l-Qāsim.

The emir of Basra’s evil vizier Abū ’l-Fatḥ from Wāsiṭ suggests that they get Abū ’l-Qāsim out of the way. As the emir admonishes him not to kill Abū ’l-Qāsim, the vizier poisons Abū ’l-Qāsim with a potion that makes his body appear like dead. He has him delivered to a vault, where he tortures him every night. When Hārūn hears the news of Abū ’l-Qāsim’s alleged sudden death, he intends to investigate the matter. The vizier, afraid that his scheme might be revealed, now wants to kill Abū ’l-Qāsim. The latter, however, is freed by a gang of robbers who are captured together with him soon after. Abū ’l-Qāsim is kept prisoner in a dry well, where he is watched by the vizier’s son. By making a hole in the well’s stone wall, he manages to link the well to an underground channel. As the well fills with water, Abū ’l-Qāsim escapes from his confinement by floating to the surface. He strangles the vizier’s son and throws his body into the water.

Meeting a caravan, Abū ’l-Qāsim joins them. As he presents some cloth to the emir’s daughter, she falls in love with him and has him visit her at night. When the girl’s father discovers him and has him bound, she sets him free, and he finds shelter in the house of an old man. The emir of Basra orders his executioner to kill his daughter. As the executioner tries to strip a precious ring from her finger, he accidentally swallows the poison contained in the ring and dies. The girl and her wet nurse come to the village where Abū ’l-Qāsim is hiding. Together they travel to Baghdad. When Abū ’l-Qāsim offers his service as a porter in Baghdad, the slave girl he had previously donated to the caliph recognizes him. The caliph’s wife,

Zubayda, informs the caliph, and Abū ’l-Qāsim is received with great honor. The emir and his vizier are put to the gallows.

The caliph keeps the peacock and the goblet for himself and restores the young man and the maiden he had previously received from Abū ’l-Qāsim together with all the other precious gifts. Abū ’l-Qāsim releases the young couple from the status of slavery and has them marry. The caliph appoints him emir of Basra, and they all live happily for a long time.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 1b–10a; unpublished French translation by Labraze, language student in Constantinople, dated 1741 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 30, no. 712); German translation by Tietze, revised and edited by Hazai and Stein, “Proben,” pp. 52–68.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 17; B, pp. 3–26, no. 1; C, no. 47; D_1, no. 4.

Comment

The tale has partly influenced the first tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Aboulcassem Basri* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 496–497; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 8–10, no. 5).

Mardrus has inserted this tale from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* into his version of the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 436, no. 457).

2. Fażlallāh from Mosul, Abū ’l-Ḥasan, Māhyār, and the Kadi

As the emir of Mosul has no son, he gives alms generously, until his son Fażlallāh is born. When Fażlallāh has grown up, he does not want his father to suggest suitable women to marry, preferring instead to find his true love. With his father’s consent, he sets out to do so. Robbers attack the caravan he joined. Although Fażlallāh fights valiantly, all of his companions are killed, and he himself is taken prisoner. Intending to kill him later, the

robbers go on another raid. The wife of the chief of the robbers pities him, gives him an old dress, and sets him free. He travels to Bagdad.

Begging for alms in Bagdad, he comes to the house of Muvaffaq b. ʿAdabān, a noble man who had been wronged by the town's envious Kadi. There he falls in love with Muvaffaq's daughter, who gives him some bread. Resting in the cemetery at night, he is taken captive by a warrior, who brings him to a ruined house, where he finds innumerable dead and beheaded bodies. The warrior treats him kindly and tells his story.

He is Abū 'l-Ḥasan from Nahravān, who had fallen in love with one of the caliph's slave girls. At first rejecting his advances, the slave girl finally took him into the palace. When the caliph surprised them, he ordered both of them to be bound and thrown into the river. The slave girl drowned, but he survived. Following this, Abū 'l-Ḥasan vowed to kill the caliph's men one by one.

Hearing Fażlallāh's story, Abū 'l-Ḥasan promises to help him, and together they break into Muvaffaq's house at night. They are, however, detected and taken prisoner. Abū 'l-Ḥasan convinces the jailer to set Fażlallāh free, while he himself stays in prison.

Begging for alms again, Fażlallāh comes to the house of the Kadi. The Kadi intends to utilize him in order to humiliate his adversary Muvaffaq. He passes Fażlallāh off as the son of Māhyār, the ruler of Wāsiṭ, and urges Muvaffaq to marry his daughter to Fażlallāh instantly. After the marriage has been consummated, the Kadi forces Fażlallāh to return the precious dress he had given to him so as to make Muvaffaq understand that the husband of his daughter is only a poor beggar. Fażlallāh confesses his story to his wife, and she promises to help him.

Dressing up, the young woman presents herself in all her seductive beauty to the Kadi. She makes him believe that her father, a poor dyer, refuses to let her marry, pretending that his daughter is too ugly to be married. Ravished by her beauty, the Kadi instantly insists that the dyer marry his daughter to him. Although the poor man repeatedly warns him that his daughter is ugly, the Kadi is willing to pay him a thousand golden dinars and even agrees to give him an additional two thousand dinars should he ever want to divorce after seeing the bride. The Kadi's wife is so furious about his decision that she requests him to divorce her, and he has to pay her five hundred dinars. When the Kadi has been married to the dyer's

actual daughter and finally gets to see the bride, he is horrified by her repulsive ugliness. However, as the conditions of his marriage have been agreed on in the presence of numerous witnesses, he has no other solution but to divorce her and lose his money.

When Fażlallāh's bride confesses her ruse to him, he promises to return to Mosul and prove his noble descent. On the way, however, he meets a caravan from Mosul that informs him that his father has died. Since Fażlallāh as the rightful heir had been believed dead, his father's wealth has been confiscated by the state. Fażlallāh changes his destination to Wāsiṭ and happens to meet the city's ruler, Māhyār, who, after hearing his story, promises to help him. Together with Fażlallāh, Māhyār goes to see the caliph in Bagdad, where he presents Fażlallāh as his own son and reveals the Kadi's evil schemes.

The caliph grants Māhyār the power to depose the Kadi and install Muvaffaq as the town's ruler. Abū 'l-Ḥasan is freed and sent back to Nahravān. Fażlallāh is married to Muvaffaq's daughter a second time. Māhyār resigns from his post, and Fażlallāh is installed as ruler of Wāsiṭ, where he reigns for many years.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 10a–18b; unpublished French translation by La Braze, language student in Constantinople, dated 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 103, no. 941); original text, transcription, and German translation by Vámbéry, *Alt-osmanische Sprachstudien*, pp. 37–111; German translation by Tietze, revised and edited by Hazai and Stein, "Proben," pp. 68–86.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 16; B, pp. 27–53, no. 2; C, no. 46; D_1, no. 1; D_2, no. 2; I, no. 28; J, no. 7.

Comment

The tale has partly influenced the first tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Aboulcassem Basri* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 496–497; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 8–10, no. 5) as well as the

seventh tale, *Le Prince Fadlallah* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 500–501; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, 286–288, no. 171).

The woman's ruse to talk the Kadi into marrying an ugly woman in revenge for the Kadi's earlier aggressive act is first documented in the Arabic author Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 1201) book on clever people, *Akhbār al-Adhkiyāʾ*; see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, p. 173, no. 331; Ulrich Marzolph, *Arabia ridens: Die humoristische Kurzprosa der frühen adab-Literatur im internationalen Traditionsgeflecht* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1992), vol. 2, no. 1198. The tale has been recorded from nineteenth- and twentieth-century oral tradition in Turkey, in Iraqi Jewish tradition, and in Romania; see Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 228; Heda Jason, *Folktales of the Jews of Iraq* (Or Yehuda: Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center, 1988), no. 1406 *A; Sabina Cornelia Stroescu, *La typologie bibliographique des facéties roumaines* (Bucharest: Académie, 1969), vol. 2, 260, no. 3489.

3. The Wife of the Builder of Bam and the Viziers of the King of Gavāshīr

The master builder of Bam in the country of Kerman is not hired by anybody, despite his superb skills. His chaste wife encourages him to look for work somewhere else. As a token of her chastity, she gives him a green twig from a box tree. The man travels to the city of Gavāshīr. There he learns that all the city's builders have been thrown into prison because they are unable to construct a palace for the king. The master builder constructs a magnificent palace in a very short time and is greatly honored by the king.

The king praises the master builder's capacities so much that the viziers become envious. One day, as the master builder sits on an especially beautiful spot in the garden pavilion, he falls asleep dreaming of his wife. The envious viziers prepare the scene as if the master builder had enjoyed a solitary party, feasting excessively and getting drunk, and calumniate him before the king. The master builder, however, calms the king by telling him the truth.

Now the envious viziers make the master builder drunk so that he tells them about the details of his life at home. Then they forge a letter from his neighbors informing him that his wife engages in debauchery. Although the

green twig proves the woman's faithfulness, they succeed in casting doubt into the master builder's heart. They insist that one of them travel to Bam to investigate the matter, while the master builder is held in prison in Gavāshīr.

In Bam, an old woman helps the vizier arrange a meeting with the master builder's wife. The woman has been informed by her husband about his situation in Gavāshīr and quickly understands the vizier's intention. She invites him to her house at night, drugs him unconscious during a festive meal, and locks him up in an underground vault. When the vizier wakes up the next morning, a slave girl pretends that the woman's brother had arrived and they were forced to hide him; now that the woman has gone to a wedding, she will be back to release him only after a whole week. Moreover, the slave girl insinuates that the vizier has been sexually abused by a male slave when drunk. Finally, the vizier is so enraged that he curses the master builder and his own scheme, and the woman understands that her suspicions are true. Although the vizier implores the slave girl to set him free, she pretends that this is not possible, as the woman's brother and some of his friends are in the house. In exchange for giving him some bread, she has him spin cotton.

After a while, the second vizier travels to Bam to find out what happened to the first one. He suffers the same fate as the first vizier, as does the third vizier a little while later. When none of the viziers returns, the king himself travels to Bam. He also visits the woman and dines with her in her house. Out of respect, she does not drug him unconscious. Instead, she pretends that her brothers are about to arrive and offers to hide him in the underground vault. There, the king meets the three viziers and reproaches them for their vicious scheme that has brought not only them but also himself into trouble. Hearing the king speak, the woman realizes his true position. She releases him and apologizes, and the king admires her cleverness and chastity. Back in Gavāshīr, the king gives orders to hang the three envious viziers. He installs the chaste woman as the head of his family quarters and unites her with her husband.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 18b–27b; French translation by Decourdemanche, *Les ruses des femmes*, pp. 161–208; German translation by Tietze,

revised and edited by Hazai and Stein, “Proben,” pp. 86–103. Galland has summarized the tale from the copy he bought in Constantinople; see Galland, *Journal*, ed. Schefer, vol. 2, pp. 7–8.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 8; B, pp. 55–94, no. 3; D_1, no. 2; D_2, no. 3; E_1, no. 27; E_2, no. 26; F, pp. 436–441, no. 26 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 73–74, no. 26; H, pp. 125–160, no. 7; I, no. 32; P, no. 4.

Comment

A similar story is given in ʿImād b. Muḥammad [al-Ṣagharī], *Ṭuṭi-nāma: Javāhir al-asmār*, ed. Shams al-dīn Āl-i Aḥmad (Tehran: Bunyād-i farhang-i Īrān, 1352/1973), pp. 70–71; Żiyāʾ al-dīn Nakhshabī, *Ṭuṭi-nāma*, ed. Fatḥallāh Mujtabāʾi and Ghulām-ʿAlī Āryā (Tehran: Manūchihr, 1372/1993), pp. 35–43 = Hatami, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 35–37, no. 4. The tale corresponds to ATU 882 A*: *Suitors at the Spinning Wheel*. In terms of content and structure, it is somewhat similar to ATU 1730: *The Entrapped Suitors*, a fully fledged version of which is given in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 12.

Commenting on Adam of Cobsam’s tale *The Wright’s Chaste Wife*, written about 1462, William Alexander Clouston (“Additional Analogues of ‘The Wright’s Chaste Wife,’” in *The Wright’s Chaste Wife […]: A Merry Tale, by Adam of Cobsam*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall [London: Kegan Paul, 1865], pp. 25–39) and Reinhold Köhler (“Zu der Erzählung Adams von Cobsam The Wright’s Chaste Wife,” *Jahrbuch für romanische Litteratur 1867*, pp. 44–65, reprinted in *Kleinere Schriften zur erzählenden Dichtung des Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Bolte [Berlin: Emil Felber, 1900], pp. 444–464) have discussed a great variety of different versions of this tale and similar tales, including the tale’s earliest documented occurrence in the tale of Devasmitā and Guhasena in Somadeva’s eleventh-century *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*; see Somadeva, *The Ocean of Story: Being C. H. Tawney’s Translation of Somadeva’s Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, ed. N. M. Penzer, 2nd ed. (1923; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 154–164. Building on their comments, Emmanuel Cosquin (*Études folkloriques: Recherches sur les migrations des contes populaires et leur point de départ*

[Paris: Édouard Champion, 1922], pp. 401–495, particularly pp. 469–478) discusses a version from Tunis, originally published by Hans Stumme (*Tunisische Märchen und Gedichte* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893], vol. 2, pp. 80–81, no. 5), that is particularly similar to the one in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*.

4. Riżvān, the King of China, and the Dame Shahristānī

Only in the king of China's old age is a son born to him. Prince Riżvān grows up and succeeds his father. As Prince Riżvān is out hunting one day, the onager he pursues disappears into a pond. He understands that the onager must be a supernatural creature and has a palace built next to the pond to find out more. Following the advice of his wet nurse, he returns to town to fulfill his obligations as the ruler, while his wet nurse stays on. After a year, the wet nurse meets the *parī* princess Ruḥ-afzā, the daughter of the ruler of the city of Shīth, whom Prince Riżvān had seen the previous year in the shape of an onager. The princess, known as the Dame Shahristānī, confesses to the wet nurse that she has fallen in love with Prince Riżvān, but she doubts that a union between humans and supernatural creatures would work. The wet nurse brings both of them together, and they mutually confess their love.

While Ruḥ-afzā is away from her dominion, her father dies, and the rule is transferred to her cousin Manuchihr. Manuchihr is deeply in love with Ruḥ-afzā and is himself loved by Ruḥ-afzā's maid Maymūna. In order to make Ruḥ-afzā unhappy, Maymūna transports Riżvān to an isolated island. When Manuchihr is about to propose to Ruḥ-afzā, she gets so angry that she has him thrown into prison. Manuchihr sends Maymūna for help to the witch Badra on the island Suluqyār. With a spell, Badra makes Ruḥ-afzā unconscious and installs Manuchihr as the ruler. He marries Maymūna, and they live happily together.

Manuchihr has Riżvān's wet nurse abandoned on a boat. She reaches the island where Riżvān is, and both of them leave together. When a crocodile smashes the boat, the wet nurse drowns, but Riżvān reaches the shore safely. There he meets a king, who treats him kindly. In order to help Riżvān, the king summons the sorcerer Yaʿqūb, who tells his story: Yaʿqūb used to be a merchant in the city of Aden. When his ship was wrecked one

day, he came to a tent where he saw a dead person on a throne holding a golden casket in his hand. He took the casket and found a scroll inside informing him that the dead person was Āṣaf, Solomon's vizier. Shortly before Solomon's death, he had taught Āṣaf God's highest names, which grant unlimited power to the one who knows them, and Āṣaf had put down those names on the scroll. Yaʿqūb learned the names by heart and became a powerful sorcerer. Walking over the sea, he came to a country where a young man was about to be sacrificed to the evil witch Badra. He saved the youth by vanquishing Badra and stayed there.

Now Yaʿqūb and Riżvān travel to Badra's abode. They vanquish the witch and free Ruḥ-afzā. Back in Ruḥ-afzā's country, Yaʿqūb kills the usurper Manuchihr and his wife, Maymuna. He takes Badra with him and has her burned to death in his own country. Riżvān and Ruḥ-afzā marry and have a son. Eventually, they travel back to China, where Riżvān takes his rightful position as his father's successor.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 27b–34a; unpublished French translation by Maltor, language student in Constantinople, dated 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 104, no. 943).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 15; B, pp. 95–125, no. 4; C, no. 8; D_1, no. 5; D_2, no. 5; E_1, no. 18; E_2, no. 17; G_1, no. 11 = French translation by Bricteux, *Contes persans*, pp. 349–387; L, no. 3; M, no. 13; P, no. 2.

Comment

The tale has influenced the beginning of the second tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Ruzvandschad et Schéhéristani* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 497–498; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 180–182, no. 343).

The oldest documented version of the tale in Persian is contained in the Bodleian manuscript Ouseley, Add. 1, dated 1565 (see Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue*, p. 430–431, no. 459).

5. Farrukh-shād, Farrukh-rūz, and Farrukh-nāz

Following a dream, Prince Farrukh-shād of Fārs falls seriously ill. He informs his close friend Farrukh-rūz about the dream: He had dreamt of a beautiful maiden who abhorred men. She had once had a dream in which a stag had been caught in the hunter's net three times. Each time a doe arrived to free him. When, however, the doe was caught, the stag did not arrive to save her, and the hunter killed her. This sequence of events convinced the maiden that men are not to be trusted.

Farrukh-shād and Farrukh-rūz set out to find a solution to the prince's dilemma. When they reach Ghaznīn, the king tells them the story of his son, who has just died of love sickness. He had been fatally in love with the king of Kashmir's daughter, who happens to be the one who, due to her dream, abhors men.

Farrukh-rūz sets out to find the princess of Kashmir. In a garden, a beautiful witch transforms him into a deer. Some days later, another beautiful maiden transforms him back to his human shape, and he tells her his story. The second maiden is Mihr-afzā, the second daughter of the king of Kashmir and the sister of the first witch, Ḥusn-ārā. Advised by Mihr-afzā, Farrukh-rūz follows a complicated procedure to gain the king of Kashmir's trust. When, eventually, Princess Farrukh-nāz wants to see him, he gives orders to construct a garden pavilion that is illustrated with the scenes of her dream. In addition, a final illustration shows that the stag was not able to free the doe as he himself had been caught in the hunter's net. Seeing the illustrations, the young woman is reformed. Informing her about Prince Farrukh-shād's love, Farrukh-rūz convinces Farrukh-nāz to leave the country clandestinely in order to travel with him to see Prince Farrukh-shād. On the way, they pass by Ḥusn-ārā's garden and free Mihr-afzā, who kills her evil sister.

When the king of Kashmir notices that his daughter has eloped, he pursues them with a large army. The army is defeated, first by a spell from Mihr-afzā, then by Farrukh-shād, and finally by the king of Ghaznīn's army.

Farrukh-shād and Farrukh-nāz marry and eventually travel back to Fars. As Farrukh-shād's parents have died, he is installed as the new ruler. They live happily and have many sons.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 34a–42a; unpublished French translation by Maltor, language student in Constantinople, dated 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 104–105, no. 945).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: B, pp. 127–156, no. 5; C, no. 44; D_1, no. 6; D_2, no. 6; J, no. 5.

Comment

Pétis de la Croix uses this tale as the frame tale of his *1001 Days*, titled *La Princesse de Cachemire* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 493–496; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 130–132, no. 112); see Rossi, "La fonte turca della novella-cornice."

The princess's dream figures prominently in two tales in the *1001 Nights*, *Ardashīr and Ḥayāt al-nufūs* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 106–107, no. 226; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 124–126, no. 59) and *Tāj al-Mulūk and the Princess Dunyā* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 406–408, no. 40; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 126–128, no. 60). A similar dream (and related tale) is contained both in *Javāhir al-asmār* (pp. 424–430) and Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (pp. 327–332) = Hatami, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 126–128, no. 63. Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 123, refers to a vaguely similar tale in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*; see Somadeva, *Océan des rivières de contes*, ed. Nalini Balbir (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), p. 447; Somadeva, *The Ocean of Story*, ed. Penzer, vol. 3, pp. 291–292. Here, Princess Karpūrikā remembers that in one of her former births she had been a swan (or a goose). When she lost her little ones in a flood and was mourning, her husband told her not to worry, as they could easily have more children. Outraged at this act of faithlessness toward her dead children and herself, she was not inclined to any suitor in her later birth.

6. The Vizier, the King's Daughter, and the Witch

The king of Khorasan wonders whether it is possible to change the decreed destiny. Aiming to demonstrate that this is beyond human capacity, his vizier Farrukh-zād tells the story of his adventures.

Farrukh-zād succeeds his father as the governor of Balkh. Following a frightening nightmare, his counselors advise him to spend some time in solitude in an isolated place. When he aims to catch a large bird in his garden, the bird carries him away to a far-away island. On the island, he witnesses some people deliver a beautiful young man. He learns that the young man, the son of the king of Daryābār, has been brought to the isolated island in order to evade an evil destiny that the astrologers had foreseen would afflict him before his thirteenth birthday. They become friends. One day he hands the young man a piece of apple on the tip of a knife. The young man sneezes and is accidentally killed. At the return of the prince's company, Farrukh-zād is arrested on charges of murder.

After some days, he is made to pass an ordeal that is to prove whether he is guilty or innocent of having killed the prince. In order to demonstrate the effectiveness of the ordeal, a particular kind of large scale, they place an elephant on it that had previously killed another elephant without any obvious reason. When Farrukh-zād is placed on the scale, he sees an enormously large figure grabbing him and loses consciousness. He wakes up on a ship, where he sees a beautiful maiden asleep.

The beautiful maiden tells him her story: Out hunting one day, the maiden's father, the king of Daryābār, rescued a beautiful woman who had been abducted by a black man. He killed the black man, married the woman, and brought up the son that she had from her previous husband. When the king grew old, he resigned and passed on the rule to his stepson. As soon as the stepson was in office, he maltreated his stepfather and stepsister. In order to protect her, her faithful vizier put her on a ship so that she would be able to return at a suitable time. This happened ten days ago.

Farrukh-zād and the daughter of the king of Daryābār marry. Some days later, they are attacked by a group of cannibal black men. While the attackers are destroyed by a fire raining from a red cloud, the couple suffer shipwreck and are thrown ashore in Zanzibar. Although the king of Zanzibar wants to have them killed, the king's mother promises to help them in exchange for their love. In order to prove her determination, she kills her own son and cuts off his head. Taking with them the king's

treasures, the couple flee aboard a ship, taking the old woman along. When she requests the promise to be fulfilled, they throw her overboard.

Having reached the shore, the woman dresses in male clothes so as to enjoy the protection of a male guise. Together, the couple happen to meet the present king of Daryābār, the young woman's stepbrother. As he does not recognize his stepsister, the couple pretend to be two merchant brothers. For a while, they stay in the king's service, until the king sees them sleeping close to each other and sends his vizier to find out what is going on. When the vizier warns the couple, the princess discloses her true identity, and the vizier and his men depose the evil king and behead him. They install the princess as the rightful ruler, but being a woman, she is happy to pass the rule on to her husband. When after some time Farrukh-zād feels homesick, he installs the vizier as his deputy, and they travel to Farrukh-zād's hometown. On the way, they are shipwrecked, and in the country they reach, Farrukh-zād is made the king's vizier.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 42a–48a; unpublished French translation by Labraze, language student in Constantinople, dated 1741, and another (partial?) translation by Maltor in 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 30, no. 712; p. 103, no. 940); the tale is one out of three tales translated from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* by Pétis de la Croix that the publisher had published in the eighth volume of *Les mille et une nuit* without Galland's permission, titled *Histoire de la Princesse de Daryabar* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 330, no. 348; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, p. 70, no. 237).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: B, pp. 157–180, no. 6; C, no. 18; D_1 and D_2, no. 7; E_1, no. 32?; E_2, no. 31?; G_1, no. 1 = French translation by Bricteux, *Contes persans*, pp. 1–23.

Comment

Farrukh-zād's initial adventure with the prince on the island corresponds to the second adventure in *The First Qalandar's Tale* in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 340–341, no. 18; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 200–203, no. 117; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 104–105).

7. The ʿAyyār Naṣr and the Prince of Khorasan

When leaving for the pilgrimage to Mecca, the king of Khorasan advises his son to pay a visit to his close friend, the *ʿayyār* (scout) Naṣr in Bagdad. On the way, the prince's caravan is attacked by robbers, and the prince reaches Bagdad badly wounded. His father's friend Naṣr receives him with utmost magnanimity, and the prince stays with him until the caravan of pilgrims returns from Mecca. One day the prince falls in love with a woman, and Naṣr promises to help him marry her. The woman happens to be Naṣr's own wife, a fact that the prince ignores. Naṣr divorces his wife, and after the requested time has passed, he arranges for the prince to marry her. During the marriage ceremony, the bride recognizes her former husband and later confesses the true circumstances to her new husband. Realizing Naṣr's magnanimity, the prince does not consummate the marriage. When they leave for his hometown, he gives Naṣr a ring as a token of their friendship.

In the following year, Naṣr falls from the caliph's grace and is reduced to poverty. He travels to Khorasan and visits the prince, who has meanwhile become the ruler. As Naṣr presents himself at court, the ruler notices that the difficult period decreed for him by destiny is not yet over. For two years, the sheep he gives to Naṣr to make a living die. In the third year, however, the flock prospers, and the ruler notices that Naṣr's difficult times are over. He welcomes him to the palace, marries his former wife to him again, and installs him as his vizier.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 48a–52a; the French translation by Maltor, language student in Constantinople (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 106, no. 950), served as the basis for the *Histoire de*

Naz-Rayyar attributed to the Comte de Caylus (*Œuvres badines*, vol. 7, pp. 208–221; see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, p. 134, no. 335 F; vol. 4, p. 222; vol. 5, p. 137–128, no. 66).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: B, pp. 181–191, no. 7; C, no. 42; D_1 and D_2, no. 8; E_1, no. 46; G_1, no. 7 = French translation by Bricteux, *Contes persans*, pp. 195–205; H, pp. 161–170, no. 8; J, no. 3.

Comment

The tale is the source of the eighteenth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Nasiroddolé, Abderrahmane et Zeïneb* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 507; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 137–138, no. 66).

Probably the tale's oldest Persian version is contained in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 2, chap. 19, no. 2 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1467). Sebag mentions "numerous Persian versions" (p. 507) of the tale, some of which have been translated. The version published by Jonathan Scott (*Tales*, pp. 253–258) has been translated from an anonymous and undated compilation of the entertaining *Vademecum* kind titled *Tuḥfat al-mujālis*. Clouston, *Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, pp. 69–98, reproduces Edward Rehatsek's translation (*Fortune and Misfortune*, pp. 45–64) from Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd Farāhī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, in which the tale is but an episode in the lengthy tale of Prince Kishvargushā. A version from Persian oral tradition was collected in 1967 (Abū 'l-Qāsim Injavī, *Qiṣṣahā-yi īrānī*, vol. 3, *ʿArūsak-i sang-i ṣabūr* [Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 2535/1976], pp. 178–184).

Arabic versions of the tale have been integrated into the *1001 Nights* in the Chavis manuscript (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 108–109, no. 415; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 135–137, no. 64), which has been translated into French by Caussin de Perceval in his edition of the *1001 Nights* (vol. 9, pp. 1 ff.), and in the Wortley-Montague manuscript (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 410–411, no. 516), of which there is a German (and a Czech) translation by Felix Tauer, *Neue Erzählungen aus den Tausendundein Nächten* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1995), pp. 883–

894. The tale was transmitted to European literature by way of Petrus Alphonsus's *Disciplina Clericalis* (no. 2) at the beginning of the twelfth century; see the extensive commentary by Haim Schwarzbaum, "International Folklore Motifs in Petrus Alphonsi's 'Disciplina Clericalis,'" in *Jewish Folklore between East and West*, ed. Eli Yassif (Beer-Sheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1989), pp. 261–266, where, following the twelfth-century verse romance *Estoire d'Athènes*, it is mainly known under the names of Athis and Prophilias; see Elisabeth Frenzel, "Athis und Prophilias," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 1, cols. 948–949.

8. Prince Zayn al-Aṣnām and the King of the *Jinns*

When finally a son is born to the king of Basra, the astrologers advise the king that the prince will have a happy life after suffering some hardship. After the king's death, Prince Zayn al-Aṣnām squanders his wealth with false friends until he is reduced to poverty. In a dream, an old man with a luminous face advises him to travel to Egypt and to collect the treasures he owns there. Once he arrives in Egypt, the same person advises him to travel back to Basra and dig for the treasures in his own house. He does so and in an underground vault finds ten large jars filled with gold. Later he finds nine chests, each of which contains a precious figurine carved from a large ruby. A message from his father tells him to travel to Egypt to his father's slave Mubārak, who will help him acquire a tenth and even more valuable figurine of the same kind.

Zayn al-Aṣnām travels to Egypt and is lavishly entertained by Mubārak. In recognition of Mubārak's magnanimity, Zayn al-Aṣnām releases him from the status of slavery. Although Mubārak advises him that the acquisition of the tenth figurine is going to be extremely dangerous, Zayn al-Aṣnām insists, and together they set out. They travel a long distance until they reach a river, where Mubārak summons a supernatural ferryman who ferries them across to an island. In the vicinity of a castle, Mubārak and Zayn al-Aṣnām dress in white clothes. Mubārak draws a magic circle and summons the king of the *jinn*s, from whom Zayn al-Aṣnām humbly requests to be given the tenth figurine. The king of the *jinn*s satisfies his

request and asks him to bring him a beautiful maiden in return. Before leaving, the king of the *jinn*s gives him one of his hairs, by the burning of which Zayn al-Aṣnām can summon him in the future. Back in Egypt, Zayn al-Aṣnām summons the king of the *jinn*s and receives numerous precious presents for his travel companions.

Back in Bagdad, the envious and malevolent *imām*, whose name is also Mubārak, makes the people wonder about the source of Zayn al-Aṣnām's riches, but Zayn al-Aṣnām bribes him with a bag of gold.

Aiming to satisfy the request of the king of the *jinn*s, Zayn al-Aṣnām orders an old woman to find him the beautiful maiden requested. She finds the beautiful daughter of a poor cobbler who had become rich because the recently deceased daughter of the caliph's cousin had decreed that her dowry should be given to the cobbler's daughter. As Zayn al-Aṣnām does not touch his wife after their marriage, she wonders what is going on. Together they travel to the king of the *jinn*s. But when she is finally to be delivered to the king of the *jinn*s, she is so frightened that Mubārak has pity on her. Without informing Zayn al-Aṣnām, he rubs her with an oil whose smell the king of the *jinn*s detests. As the king of the *jinn*s thinks that Zayn al-Aṣnām is not true to his promise, he throws him into the sea. Meanwhile, he permits Mubārak to keep the young woman, as he had only wanted to test Zayn al-Aṣnām's faithfulness. Mubārak and the young woman travel back to Egypt and live together.

Zayn al-Aṣnām is rescued by a dolphin, who brings him to the shore. There he meets people of a strange-looking race who treat him friendly. The people's language is like the piping of a flute, and only their king speaks the human language. The king tells Zayn al-Aṣnām how he came to learn that language: As a child, the king had been abducted by some enemies. He escaped and was taken in by a people with whom his abductors traded cloves and whose language he learned. After some years, they sold him to the king of Oman. The king's wife was a witch who used a large jar as her vehicle to fly to a meeting of sorcerers. Hiding inside the jar one day, he overheard the master sorcerer inform the witch how to produce the Shāhmārān oil, that is, the oil made from the king of the serpents. Secretly, he followed the described procedure and killed the king of the serpents. Taking the little stone from inside its head, he used it to prepare the magic

oil that enabled him to walk across the water. Finally, he came to a certain people of *jinn*s who transported him back to his own country.

Having told his story, the king presents Zayn al-Aṣnām with the magic stone and some of the meat and fat of the king of the serpents. Thereby, Zayn al-Aṣnām manages to travel again to the abode of the king of the *jinn*s, whom he informs about his innocence. Together they travel to Egypt and on to Bagdad to punish Mubārak for his apparent betrayal. Mubārak, however, tells them that he had only acted out of pity for the young woman. Proving that he has not touched her since, he shows them that he had castrated himself, and they forgive him. From then on, Zayn al-Aṣnām and the young woman live together in happiness, and each year the king of the *jinn*s comes to see them.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 52a–62b; unpublished French translation by Philibert Lenoir, language student in Constantinople, dated 1741 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 106, no. 950); the tale is one out of three tales translated from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* by Pétis de la Croix that the publisher had published in the eighth volume of *Les mille et une nuit* without Galland's permission, titled *Histoire du Prince Zeyn Alasnam et du roi des génies* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 462–463, no. 345; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, 165–169, no. 442; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 131).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 12; B, pp. 193–228, no. 8; K, no. 2d.

Comment

Burton, *Arabian Nights*, pp. 41–47, reproduces E. J. W. Gibb's translation from ʿAzīz Efendi's modern Turkish *Muhayyelat*. A similar version is also told in the *Tale of Āzādbakht*, which is embedded in the Urdu romance *Bāgh o Bahār* (Mir Amman of Dihli, *Bagh o Bahar, or Tales of the Four Dervishes, Translated from the Hindustani of Mir Amman of Dihli by Duncan Forbes* [London: Wm. H. Allen, 1874], particularly pp. 283–301),

an early nineteenth-century adaptation of a work whose Persian original is attributed to Amīr Khusraw of Dehli (d. 725/1325).

The initial episode is a heavily truncated version of ATU 1645: *The Treasure at Home*, the earliest version of which is contained in *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* by the tenth-century Arabic author al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (see Ulrich Marzolph, "Traum vom Schatz auf der Brücke," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 13, cols. 877–882), versions of which are documented in Persian literature at least since the twelfth century; see Ulrich Marzolph, "Khāna-yi Zahman: Qiṣṣaʾī az *Maṯnavī* va jāygāh-i ān dar sunnat-i ravāʾī-yi jahān" (The House of Zahman: A tale from the *Maṯnavī* and its position in international narrative tradition), trans. Afsāna Iftikhārzāda, *Farhang-i mardum* 9, no. 34 (1389/2010): 128–134. A vaguely similar tale is documented from Turkish oral tradition (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 133). The motif of a supernatural character giving the hero a part of his or her body, usually a hair, a feather, or a fish scale, to summon him or her later on is well documented from international popular tradition (see Christine Goldberg, "Pars pro toto," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 10, cols. 591–592). The episode with the serpent king employs motifs that are well known from the tale of *The Queen of Serpents* in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 348–350, no. 176; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 255–257, no. 152); probably deriving from the *1001 Nights*, this tale enjoys a particular popularity in Turkish versions of the *Jāmāsb-nāma (see* Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 57 and p. 18; Johannes Thomann, "Die frühesten türkischen Übersetzungen," nos. 6, 22–25, 33–35, 37, 40, 41). The notion of a magic stone located inside a serpent's head is wide-spread in Asian, African, and European traditions (see Sigrid Schmidt, "Schlangenkrone, -stein," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 8, cols. 56–63). The motif of a man castrating himself so as to prove later on that he had not transgressed the boundaries of adequate behavior toward somebody else's wife who had been in his custody is also encountered in a tale about the Persian king Ardashīr's vizier that is retold by various Arabic historians (see René Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, ed. Aboubakr Chraïbi, 2 vols. [Paris: José Corti, 2005], vol. 1, sec. 3, pp. 423–428, no. 80). For the context of that tale, see Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 94–95.

9. The Sons of the King of Khorasan and Their Brother Khudādād

Longing to have a son, the ruler of Ḥarrān dreams of a luminous figure who advises him to eat a certain pomegranate. Having done that, in the following hundred nights, he sleeps with a hundred concubines, and all of them conceive except his favorite concubine, Pīrūza. The angered king wants to have Pīrūza killed, but his vizier advises him to send her away to live with the king's cousin in the city of Sāmira instead. When Pīrūza finally begets a son, the king rejoices and has his son named Khudādād (= Theodor).

Khudādād grows up and urges his mother to tell him who his true father is. Without disclosing his identity, he enters into the king's service and soon becomes his close intimate. His ninety-nine (half) brothers envy his position and aim to destroy him by going out hunting and not returning. When his brothers do not return, Khudādād asks the king for permission to look for them. In a palace, he finds a beautiful maiden who has been abducted by a frightful black cannibal. He kills the cannibal and rescues his brothers, whom the cannibal had held captive. Even before returning home, Khudādād and the young woman marry, and he confesses his true status to his brothers. Becoming even more envious, his brothers cut off his hands and feet and leave him in the company of his wife.

Although his wife manages to procure a horse to transport him, the horse is stolen soon after. The woman goes to the city to fetch some medicine to treat his wounds, but when she returns, he is gone. She finds a large treasure and spends her time in devotion, eventually becoming so renowned that the people build houses next to her dwelling.

Meanwhile, Khudādād has been taken in by a man who happens to be the gardener of the king of Sāmira. The daughter of the king of Sāmira pities him, marries him, and devotes herself to nursing him. In the "night of power" (*laylat al-qadr*), they spend their time in devotion, and Khudādād is miraculously cured. He confesses his true status to his nurse and meets his mother. On their way back to Ḥarrān, they pass by the dwelling of Khudādād's first wife, who tells him about her adventures, and they are reunited. Back home, Khudādād confesses his true status to his father. Although his father wants to have his ninety-nine brothers hanged, Khudādād asks him to pardon them.

The king installs Khudādād as the new ruler, and Khudādād presents his brothers with adequate fiefdoms. His two wives bear him many sons, and they all live happily for many years.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 62b–66b; unpublished French translation by Philibert Lenoir, language student in Constantinople, dated 1741 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 42–43, no. 723); the tale is one out of three tales translated from *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* by Pétis de la Croix that the publisher had published in the eighth volume of *Les mille et une nuit* without Galland's permission, titled *Histoire de Codadad et de ses frères* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 254–255, no. 347; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 69–71, no. 237; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 131).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 21; B, pp. 229–249, no. 9; D_1 and D_2, no. 9; G_1, no. 6 = French translation by Bricteux, *Contes persans*, pp. 173–191.

Comment

Pertev Naili Boratav, "Les récits populaires turcs (hikâye) et 'Les Mille et une Nuits,'" *Oriens* 1 (1948): 69–73, discusses a nineteenth-century version performed by a popular Turkish storyteller in its relation to the version published in Galland's *Mille et une nuits*. The episode of the hero being mutilated and miraculously healed reads somewhat like a male version of ATU 707: *The Maiden without Hands* (Ines Köhler-Zülch, "Mädchen ohne Hände," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 8, cols. 1375–1387). In that tale, however, the young woman mutilates herself in order to evade the advances of her own father.

10. The Three Young Men, the Old Man, the Princess, and the Black Man

Three young men and an old man traveling together agree to tell each other stories. He who is not able to tell a story will have to carry the other ones on

his back.

The first young man tells the story of Abū Dulaf, who is admonished by a dictum engraved into a precious ring not to strive for mundane possessions.

The second young man narrates how he had fallen in love with a slave girl belonging to the ruler Ḥajjāj in Wāsiṭ. One day, Ḥajjāj presented the girl with a roasted fowl filled with jewels, and the girl passed it on to her beloved, without knowing about the hidden treasure. The young man had then eaten the fowl in the company of a friend, who revealed the event to the ruler. The angry ruler had threatened to kill both him and his beloved, but they had convinced him to spare their lives by arguing that their love had made them transgress the limitations of acceptable behavior. Instead, the ruler punished the young man's friend for betraying their secret.

The third young man tells how he had profited from the incomparable magnanimity of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī.

As the old man does not have a story to tell, he is forced to carry the young men on his back one after the other. Together they reach a countryside palace inhabited by a princess who had left the city with her entourage fearing to be affected by a plague. The princess scolds the old man for not knowing any stories at his age and tells her own story: When she was thirteen years of age, she fell in love with a young tailor. She invited him to her palace, where she made advances to him. As he protested, she accidentally killed him with a knife that she was using to cut some meat. The black slave Muqbil, who helped her take away the dead body, blackmailed her into becoming his beloved. As Muqbil one day bragged about his concubine to his fellows, he forced her to serve them at a party. She poisoned all of the men present and mutilated their bodies. When some time later her father gave her in marriage to a prince, she had to think about a way to conceal the loss of her virginity. She found a look-alike, who took her place in the wedding night. As the other woman did not want to abandon her position, the princess set the kitchen on fire and threw the false bride into the fire, pretending that the woman had been her maid. Now she lived happily with her husband and her three sons.

Following her story, the princess supplies the men with provisions, and they travel on.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 66b–69b; the French translation by Maltor, language student in Constantinople, dated 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 106, no. 950), served as the basis for the tale *Chadul* attributed to the Comte de Caylus (*Œuvres badines*, vol. 7, pp. 223–231; see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, p. 134, no. 335 F; vol. 4, p. 222; vol. 5, p. 217–218, no. 128).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 23; B, pp. 251–265, no. 10; C, no. 29; D_1 and D_2, no. 10; G_1, no. 2 = French translation by Bricteux, *Contes persans*, pp. 27–45; L, no. 6; M, no. 6.

Comment

The tale partly served to inspire the ninth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Atalmulk et Zélica* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 501–502; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 133–135, no. 63).

The complete tale, including the frame tale as well as the embedded tales, has been published in the early nineteenth-century Persian chapbook *Chihil Ṭūṭī* (see Ulrich Marzolph, *Čehel Ṭuṭi* [Walldorf: Vorndran, 1979], pp. 35–38, no. 7). The tale of the princess, for which Chauvin (*Bibliographie*, vol. 5, 217–218, no. 128) refers to a tale in the Persian *Bahār-i dānish* (Scott, *Bahar Danush*, vol. 3, pp. 293–294) reads like a condensed version of the tale of *ʿArūs al-ʿarāʾis* (The bride of brides) contained in the fourteenth-century Arabic manuscript of tales known as *al-Ḥikāyāt al-ʿajība*; see *Tales of the Marvellous*, trans. Lyons, pp. 135–177, no. 7; Ulrich Marzolph, “As Woman as Can Be: The Gendered Subversiveness of an Arabic Folktale Heroine,” *Edebiyât* 10 (1999): 199–218, reprinted in *Ex Oriente Fabula*, vol. 2 (Dortmund: Vorndran, 2006), pp. 234–253. The specific motif of the princess and her entourage staying in a countryside palace so as not to be affected by a plague raging in the capital (fol. 68b) offers a fascinating parallel to the setting of the frame tale of Boccaccio’s *Decamerone*, compiled around the middle of the fourteenth century. There, a party of seven women and three men have retreated to a countryside resort so as to evade the plague raging in Florence. For ten

consecutive days, they choose a ruler each day who decides on a theme to which each of the participants is asked to contribute a story.

11. The Carefree King and the Sorrowful Vizier

The wise vizier of a hot-tempered and haughty king finds excuses so that he does not have to give the king his daughter to marry. In order to outsmart the vizier, the king wagers with him that he will be able to find a carefree person and sets out to prove his assertion. Although the king travels wide and far, he is not able to find a person who knows no sorrow. Finally, he hears news about a king in the West, to whom he presents himself as the merchant Mūsā. He is lavishly entertained for a while, finds the king to be totally carefree, and finally discloses to the king his identity and the true purpose of his visit. In order to demonstrate his emotional state, the king in the West shows his visitor his garden pavilion, where they see a gruesome black man being caressed by a beautiful young woman.

The king explains the scene by telling his story: The king was born when his father had already reached old age. He grew up together with his female cousin, whose mother had died. His father had a favorite slave girl, who had previously belonged to his uncle and who was still in love with him. When the prince’s father died, the slave girl united with his uncle and treated the prince badly. The wet nurses who had cared for him and his cousin reminded them of their mutual love, but his uncle requested forty bags of pure gold before he would consent to their marriage. As his cousin had access to her father’s treasury, she used to throw him a bag of gold each night from her window. One night, as he was waiting for her to show up, he armed himself with a dagger. As she threw the bag down from her window, it hit him in such an unfortunate way that he accidentally happened to cut off his member. By coincidence, his uncle died soon after, and his cousin came to rule the country. They married, and she installed him as the rightful ruler. For some time, he used various excuses to avoid having to inform her about his physical condition. When he finally confessed, she asked him to leave. He implored her to remember their deep affection, and she finally consented to stay with him. In order to satisfy her needs, he arranged for her to have sex with that gruesome black man.

The first king, having learned that the person he took to be carefree suffers the greatest sorrow possible, returns home and apologizes to his vizier. As the king is now reformed from his haughtiness, the vizier lets him marry his daughter, and they live happily for a long time.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 69b–74b, L101–L102a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 19; B, pp. 267–285, no. 11; C, no. 19; D_1 and D_2, no. 11; E_1 and E_2, no. 1.

Comment

The tale inspired the eighth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Bedreddin-Lolo et son Vizir* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 501–504; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 174–175, no. 99); the twelfth tale, titled *Le roi sans chagrin* (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 50–52, no. 217); and parts of the ninth tale, titled *Atalmulk et Zélica* (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 133–135, no. 63).

Several versions of a fairly similar story have been documented from Persian oral tradition (Ulrich Marzolph, *Typologie des persischen Volksmärchens* [Beirut: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1984], no. *885 B). In addition, the tale is vaguely related to ATU 844: *The Luck-Bringing Shirt* (van der Kooi, “Hemd des Glücklichen,” particularly col. 810), a tale in which a sick ruler is advised to wear the shirt of a man who has absolutely no sorrow; when the ruler finally finds that person, the man is so poor that he does not even possess a shirt. Versions of that tale are known from Arabic (Heinz Grotzfeld and Sophia Grotzfeld, *Die Erzählungen aus Tausendundeiner Nacht*, 2nd ed. [Dortmund: Vorndran 2010], pp. 142–146), and Kurdish (Luise Charlotte Wentzel, *Kurdische Märchen* [Cologne: Diederichs, 1978], pp. 159–160, no. 12) oral tradition.

12. The Wife of the Goldsmith, the Scholar (*faqīh*), and the Town’s Notables

A goldsmith has a faithful wife, whom a scholar has coveted for a long time. When the goldsmith gets old and is reduced to poverty, his wife goes to the scholar asking him to return a deposit her husband had given to him a long time ago. Instead of returning the deposit, the scholar makes advances to the woman, promising her additional money should she give in. The wife is outraged at the scholar's indecent proposal, returns to her husband, and informs him about the events. Her husband sends her to the headman of the bazaar, the Kadi, the town's prefect, and the governor one after the other, but each one of them makes the same proposal to the woman. Finally, the clever woman orders the carpenter to make her a large closet with four single compartments.

She visits her would-be seducers one after the other and invites them to come to her house, the scholar being the first. While the scholar gets ready to seduce her, she pretends that her brother has just arrived, and he is forced to hide himself. Then she makes the headman of the bazaar, the Kadi, the prefect, and the governor each hide in one of the closet's compartments, whose door she locks. She entices the scholar to confess his debt toward her as the four locked lovers listen from inside the closet. Then she excuses herself and has her servants beat up the scholar, pretending that he is a burglar.

The next day, she complains to the king about the scholar not wanting to pay his debt, but the king advises her to ask the judgment of the headman of the bazaar, the Kadi, the prefect, or the governor. As none of them is available, the king finally accepts to pass judgment, and the woman brings the closet as witness. As the closet does not speak, she prepares to burn it, and one after the other the culprits in their compartments testify to her claim and are released. The king makes the scholar pay his debt, punishes the culprits, and has their houses looted. From then on, he would regularly invite the goldsmith's wife to tell her story to the women of his household.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. L102a–L103b, L112a–L117a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 25; B, pp. 287–303, no. 12; C, no. 27; D_1 and D_2, no. 12; H, pp. 93–106, no. 5.

Comment

The tale is the source of the fourteenth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *La Belle Arouya* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 504–505; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, p. 13, no. 186).

The tale corresponds to ATU 1730: *The Entrapped Suitors* (Rainer Wehse, "Liebhaber bloßgestellt," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 8, cols. 1058–1059). It is said to be of ancient Indian origin and appears to be first documented in the Persian *Sindbād-nāma* (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 8, pp. 50–51, no. 18), whose version was later incorporated into the Calcutta edition of the *1001 Nights* as the tale of *The Lady and Her Five Suitors* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 266, no. 198). Another version is given in *The Goodwife of Cairo and Her Four Gallants* in the Wortley-Montague manuscript (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 196–197, no. 393; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 11–12, no. 185). Several versions of the tale have been documented from recent oral tradition in Iran (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. *1730).

13. The Weaver and the Trick He Played on the Carpenter

Two friends, a weaver and a carpenter, love the same woman. She actually loves the carpenter and only consents to be with the weaver because he threatens to hurt her. One day, the weaver presents to the woman a precious shirt that has no seams. When the carpenter sees the shirt, he understands that his beloved also has a relationship with the weaver and scolds her. In order to get rid of his competitor, he builds a large chest and asks the weaver to undress and get inside. Then he induces him to move a particular nail, by virtue of which the chest rises into the air and flies away.

After a short while, the weaver finds out how to manipulate the chest's mechanism. When he learns about the beautiful daughter of the king of Oman who is locked up in a palace, he visits her at night, masquerading as the archangel Gabriel. The young woman and her maids believe that nobody else but an angel could have visited them in their barred palace; and so she gives in, and they make love together. From then on, the weaver visits the young woman at night while hiding himself outside the castle in

daytime. Finally, the king becomes aware that his daughter is pregnant. He waits for the weaver to arrive, and when he sees him, believes him to be Gabriel and shows his respect. Some days later, the weaver overhears one of the viziers criticize the king for his credulity and throws a brick at the vizier's head so that the people present take it as a divine punishment.

One day, another king, to whom the princess had been promised, asks to be married to her. As the young woman's father claims that she has been married to Gabriel, the other king believes him to be mad and wages war against him. The weaver loads the chest with stones and drives the enemy troops away by throwing the stones at them from the air. When the enemy troops return soon after, he arms himself with fire bombs made of hooves filled with cotton that he has saturated with petroleum. Again, he manages to vanquish the enemy troops, but after his return, one of the bombs accidentally burns the chest.

Not being able to visit the princess without his flying chest, the weaver is forced to make a living by working in his original profession. When the king's enemies again prepare to attack the town, the princess happens to recognize the weaver hiding in a corner. As she still considers him to be Gabriel, he pretends that God had punished him for using fire without his permission. In order not to disclose his ruse, the weaver is forced to fight the enemy troops once more. At night, he attacks them riding a horse. As he has never been riding before, he is so frightened that he attempts to stop the horse by holding onto a tree on the way, but the tree breaks loose. As he gallops through the enemy's camp in his wild appearance shouting that he is Gabriel, the enemy troops flee in terror.

The next morning, the weaver confesses his true status to the king. Instead of punishing him, the king asks him to stay, as his purported role as Gabriel will protect his country. From then on, the weaver and his wife live happily together with their son.

As for the carpenter, one day he happens to argue with his wife, accidentally kills her, and is put to death.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. L117a–L123b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 26; B, pp. 305–319, no. 13; D_1 and D_2, no. 13; H, pp. 107–123, no. 6.

Comment

The tale is the source of the eleventh tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Malek et Schirine* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 503; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 232–233, no. 132).

The tale corresponds to ATU 575: *The Prince's Wings* (Karl Horálek, "Flügel des Königssohnes," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 4, cols. 1358–1365) and has been discussed to some extent by Tietze ("Das türkische *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*," pp. 419–420). The tale's oldest versions are contained in the Indian *Pancatantra* (Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, vol. 2 [Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1859], pp. 48–56, no. 5; Johannes Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, Düsseldorf and Cologne: Diederichs, 1953, pp. 90–97, no. 29), in which a weaver poses as the god Vishṇu by using an artificial Garuḍa (Vishṇu's mount, a large bird-like creature) that his friend, a carpenter, has constructed for him. Illustrated Persian chapbook versions of the tale, titled *Nassāj va najjār* (The weaver and the carpenter) probably derive from the *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* and were published as of 1853; see Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration*, pp. 255–256. The tale's final episode corresponds to an episode in ATU 1640: *The Brave Tailor* that is also documented from Persian oral tradition (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. 1640).

The tale of *The Ebony Horse* in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 172–174, no. 103; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, 221–231, no. 130), performed for Galland by Ḥannā Diyāb, belongs to the same strand of tradition. The intricate intertextual connections of that tale, including its version in *The Hundred and One Nights*, have been discussed in detail by Ruth B. Bottigheimer and Claudia Ott, "The Case of the Ebony Horse, Part 1," *Gramarye* 5 (2014): 8–20; Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "The Case of the Ebony Horse, Part 2: Hannā Diyāb's Creation of a Third Tradition," *Gramarye* 6 (2014): 7–16; see also Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 124.

14. Isḥāq from Mosul, the Palace, and the Basket

Out of curiosity, Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd's favorite musician, Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, one night decides to follow a richly clad man. As the man reaches a house, he pulls a rope hanging from the roof, following which the female servants on the roof let down a large basket. He enters the basket and is pulled up.

Wondering what is going on, Isḥāq goes to the house the next night, pulls the rope, and is pulled up in the basket. He arrives at the party of a beautiful young woman. At first, the host makes fun of him, but when she realizes who he is, she apologizes and treats him well. He stays on for three nights, drinking and making music, until they finally let him go.

Soon after, Isḥāq is invited to join the party again. He takes along Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, disguised as his servant, and they spend an entertaining night together. In the end, the host recognizes the caliph and presents him with one of her beautiful young slave girls. The caliph, back in his palace, learns that their host belongs to the Barmakī family. He marries the slave girl whom he had received to Isḥāq.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. L123b–L127a, 87a–87b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 32; B, pp. 329–341, no. 15; C, no. 9; E_1, no. 19; E_2, no. 18; N, no. 3.

Comment

A closely similar tale about Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī is told in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-Aghānī* by Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī and is also contained in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 233, no. 142; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, p. 59, no. 225; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 142). A variety of similar anecdotes, linked to either one of the famous musicians Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839) or Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850), have been discussed by Antonella Ghersetti, "Musiciens, parasites et amoureux: Le récit du 'mariage d'Isḥāq,'" *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, n.s. 1 (2006): 113–128; and Ghersetti, "L'anecdote accordéon ou comment adapter le sens du récit au

contexte narratif," in *Le répertoire narratif arabe médiévale: Transmission et ouverture*, ed. Frédéric Bauden, Aboubakr Chraïbi, and Antonella Ghersetti (Geneva: Droz, 2008), pp. 63–85.

15. Bilqīs, Her Mother, Her Birth, and Her Father

Sarīb al-Jurhumī, an old man of 750 years, tells the following story.

A king sees a black snake vanquishing a white one. Having pity on the white snake, he has his servants kill the black one and save the white one. Back in his palace, a young man introduces himself as the king of the *parī*s who had appeared in the shape of the white snake. In return for the king's kindness, the *parī* king promises him riches, but the king is not interested. He also has no interest in being instructed about the secrets of medicine. Finally, the king consents to marry the sister of the *parī* king. He is, however, warned that his wife might at times act in ways that he will not understand, and if he criticizes her, he risks losing her.

A year after the marriage, the *parī* wife gives birth to a boy. When the king visits his wife, she throws the boy into the fire, following which both the fire and the boy disappear. Again a year later, the *parī* wife gives birth to a girl, whom they name Bilqīs. When the king visits his wife, she gives the baby to a dog that carries it away. Although the king does not approve of her action, he remembers the condition he agreed to when marrying her and remains silent.

Some time later, the king's country is attacked by enemy troops, and the king's vizier arranges for large amounts of provisions to be taken to his own troops. As soon as the *parī* wife learns about that, she destroys the food and drink. The king is so enraged that he asks his wife for an explanation, and she informs him about the hidden meaning of her actions.

Both the fire and the dog were actually *parī*s who now care for their children as wet nurses. She destroyed the food because the king's vizier had been bribed by the enemy and had poisoned the food. The vizier is made to eat some of the poisoned food and dies. As the king had not respected the conditions of their marriage, the *parī* wife leaves him and only returns much later when the king is about to die. After his death, their daughter Bilqīs rules and eventually marries the prophet Solomon.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 87b–90a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: B, pp. 343–351, no. 16; C, no. 48; E_1, no. 30; E_2, no. 29.

Comment

A Persian literary version of the tale is contained in Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd Farāhī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* (pp. 239/4–243/3). Several versions have been recorded from modern Persian oral tradition (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. *832 A). The fairy wife's enigmatic action is also mentioned in the Persian popular romance *Salīm-i Javāhirī* (*Du rivāyat az Salīm-i Javāhirī*, ed. Muḥammad Jaʿfarī Qanavātī [Tehran: Māzyār, 1387/2008], pp. 99–110), which itself often forms part of the *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (see Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, p. 52, motif 9), and in a (rarely documented) Turkish folktale (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 120 [6, 11]).

16. Manṣūr, the Son of the Jeweler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

After having confiscated the treasures of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim longs for ever more riches. His vizier ʿAlī b. al-Haytham tells him the following story.

The jeweler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in Bagdad is kind to an impoverished merchant from India who teaches him a procedure following which his son Manṣūr is born. After the merchant's death, Manṣūr spends his father's wealth by building lavish mansions and parks and by squandering it with false friends. When all his wealth has been spent, he decides to leave Bagdad and travels to Damascus and onward to Egypt. In Egypt, he lives in a tavern and makes a living by reciting poetry and telling tales.

One night, he overhears two black men mention that they need more money. He follows them to a cave and kills both of them. In the cave, he finds tremendous riches and takes to his former way of living.

Calumniated by his envious neighbors, Manṣūr satisfies the curiosity of the authorities by giving a considerable annual stipend first to the chief of the police, then to the vizier, and finally even to the sultan. The sultan,

however, has one of his slave girls make advances to Manṣūr in order to find out about his treasures. The necklace she brings back from visiting the treasure cave is so precious that all of the caliph's treasures would not even account for the price of one of its pearls. Acknowledging Manṣūr's superiority, the caliph presents the slave girl to him, and Manṣūr returns the favor by giving the caliph a precious throne adorned with jewels.

ʿAlī b. al-Haytham finishes his story by mentioning that the rulers of Egypt up to the present time continue to receive a stipend from Manṣūr's descendants.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 90a–93b, L137b–139a, 95a–95b; unpublished French translation by Le Noir, language student in Constantinople, dated 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 103, no. 942).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 27; B, pp. 353–370, no. 17; C, no. 43.

Comment

The tale partly influenced the first tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Aboulcassem Basri* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 496–497; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 8–10, no. 5).

17. The Witch Shamsa and Ṭāhir from Basra

One day, Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd learns from al-Fażl b. al-Rabīʿ about the fabulous wealth of the merchant Ṭāhir in Basra, who is said to venerate dogs. They visit Ṭāhir, who tells his story.

Ṭāhir and his two brothers divide their inheritance after their father's death. While the two brothers squander their wealth, Ṭāhir spends it wisely and manages to accumulate even more wealth than his father had. One day, he invites his brothers to accompany him on a business trip with his own ship, giving them some money to trade with. His envious brothers, however, throw him overboard and leave him to drown.

Ṭāhir manages to reach the shore and comes to a city, where he sees his own ship. He is calumniated by his brothers, and the vizier of that city has him thrown into a deep cave, where he encounters a young man who tells him his story: The young man is the son of one of the city's rich merchants. After his father's death, his brother squandered his share of the inheritance, while he spent his own share wisely, accumulating great wealth. Having bought a beautiful young slave girl, he went on a journey, to return only when she would have reached a suitable age, entrusting his wealth as well as the slave girl to his brother. Upon his return, however, he learned that his brother had calumniated him to the king, and the king had him thrown into the cave.

A few days later, they hear a heavy item falling into the water. Following this, somebody throws down a rope and rescues them from the cave. Their rescuer is the young man's faithful slave girl, who tells them her story: When her master disappeared, his brother gave her to the king. As she did not respond to his advances, the king asked his slaves and eunuchs to entertain her, hoping that one day her mood would change. One night, a black man made advances to her. She threw him into the water, and the splash they had heard previously was the noise of his falling.

Resting at a building in the vicinity, the young man and his slave girl enter the building. Ṭāhir sees a caravan approach and meets his brothers. Again, his brothers calumniate him and finally order a slave to kill him. The slave hits him with his sword and leaves him there, believing him to be dead. He is found by a group of fifty beautiful maidens, who take him in and cure him. His rescuer is Qamar al-Baḥr, the daughter of the king of Kanak, who has fallen in love with him. Masquerading him in female dress, she later takes him into her quarters in the palace, where they spend their time drinking and feasting until the king becomes aware of the events. Instead of killing them, the king follows the advice of the vizier and marries the couple. In order to avoid a scandal, however, he has them abandoned on a boat.

A few days later, they meet a gang of pirates. The pirates take Qamar al-Baḥr aboard and abandon Ṭāhir with the boat. Arguing among themselves over who should possess the young woman, all except one of the pirates are killed. Qamar al-Baḥr kills the remaining pirate by poisoning his food and then reaches an island.

Ṭāhir meets a large ship, aboard which he again encounters his brothers. They calumniate him once more, but the merchants refuse to kill him as they regard it as wrong to kill anybody while at sea. Reaching an island, his brothers meet his beloved and have her join their caravan. Although she recognizes Ṭāhir, she wisely does not disclose her secret. The brothers present her to the king of Iram and ask him to kill Ṭāhir. Fending off the king's advances, the young woman manages to have her lover released.

Following the advice of a soldier, the young man visits the witch Shamsa. He pleases her with due respect, and she promises to help him. The witch's army vanquishes the king of Iram, and they free Qamar al-Baḥr and kill the king. The witch presents the young man with two bottles of magic oil, by which he can transform a human being into an animal, and vice versa. They travel back to Basra, and when his brothers return, he has them transformed into dogs. For a full year, he has them live in wretched conditions in the wilderness. Finally, he takes them into his house and treats them well. His affection to the dogs is the reason why people believe him to venerate dogs.

Following the story, the caliph asks Ṭāhir to forgive his brothers. He has them transformed into human beings again and discards the magic oil. The caliph gives all of them precious presents and installs Ṭāhir as the ruler of Basra. One of Ṭāhir's sons from Qamar al-Baḥr was ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 844).

The narrator finishes his story by reminding the audience that even incidents thought to be absolutely impossible might in the end be possible. The example he gives is a person saying that he made a hole in the soup and attached it to his belt. Seemingly impossible, this could have been done when the soup was frozen.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 95b–103a; French translation by Decourdemanche, *Les ruses des femmes*, pp. 298–247.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: B, pp. 405–435, no. 19; C, no. 38; D_1 and D_2, no. 14; E_1, no. 10; E_2, no. 9; L, no. 4; N, no. 5; O, no. 3.

Comment

The tale served to inspire the beginning of the ninth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Atalmulk et Zélica* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 501–502; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 133–135, no. 63).

The *1001 Nights* contains two versions of the tale, *The Second Shaykh's Story* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 377–378, no. 6; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, p. 6, no. 397; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 99–100) and *ʿAbdallāh b. Fāḍil and His Brothers* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 63–65, no. 261; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 2–4, no. 2). *The Eldest Lady's Tale* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 174–175, no. 19; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 4–6, no. 443; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 106) is a female variant of the same plot. The tale's different versions have been studied in detail by Claude Bremond, "En deçà et au-delà d'un conte: Le devenir des thèmes," in *Mille et un contes de la nuit*, by Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, Claude Bremond, and André Miquel (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), pp. 85–99.

An oral retelling of the tale from the *1001 Nights* has been published in *Rivāyathā-yi shafāhī-yi Hizār va yak shab*, ed. Muḥammad Jaʿfarī Qanavātī (Tehran: ʿIlm, 1384/2005), pp. 187–200. A truncated version of the episode of the envious brothers appears also at the beginning of the lengthy tale of Farrukh-rūz in Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd Farāhī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* (Rehatsek, *Fortune and Misfortune*, pp. 94–97).

18. The Thief and the Kadi and What Happened to Them

Early in the morning, the Kadi of Herat leaves for his garden. On the way, he is attacked by a robber. Although the Kadi tries to convince the robber to let him go and even promises to reward him later, the robber responds eloquently and forces the Kadi to surrender all of his clothes as well as his donkey. When later that day the Kadi enjoys his time in the garden, the robber enters and by way of a clever argument forces the Kadi's company to buy his life for a large sum of money.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 103a–105b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 29; C, no. 54; F, pp. 427–435, no. 25 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 72–73, no. 25.

Comment

The tale has been popular as a chapbook both in Turkish (see Sebastian Beck, *Die Geschichte vom Räuber und dem Herrn Richter* [Heidelberg: Gross, 1920]) and Persian. The Persian chapbook, titled *Duzd va qāżī-yi Baghdād* (The robber and the Kadi of Baghdad), probably derives from the *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* and was published as of 1845 (see Marzolph, *Dāstānhā-ye širin: Fünfzig persische Volksbüchlein aus der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* [Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994], p. 40, no. XIV; Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration*, pp. 238–239). In the chapbook version, the tale is combined with some of the content of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 24.

19. The Princess of Kashmir and the Merchant from Khorasan

The merchant Bihrūz from Marv, on his pilgrimage to Mecca, becomes friends with a draper in Bagdad. On his return from Mecca, Bihrūz again stays with his friend for some time. Upon leaving, Bihrūz asks the draper how he could possible reward his kindness, and his friend asks him to procure a beautiful slave girl for him. Back home, Bihrūz acquires the requested slave girl for his friend but never touches her. When he takes her to Bagdad the next year, the girl confesses her love to him and tells him her story.

She is the daughter of the king of Kashmir. In her country, women are allowed to decide for themselves whom they are going to marry. When she was courted by the son of the king of Qannūj, she at first refused to marry him, and the prince returned home in great distress. Later, however, a dream made her fall in love with the prince. Masquerading as a male warrior, she traveled to Qannūj, only to learn that the prince had just died because of his unrequited love. When she went to see him in his mausoleum at night, she was taken for a grave robber. She was arrested and publicly displayed at the

marketplace. As the cord binding her arms broke, she managed to escape but was forced to work for a muleteer. Managing to escape from him, she came to a building, where she fell asleep and then awoke next to the dead body of a young man. When the people found her in the morning, they believed she had killed the young man and punished her. She was, however, rescued by the wife of the city's captain, who believed her to be a man and had fallen in love with her. Surprising them together at night, the captain killed his wife and also threatened to kill her. Letting him touch her bare breast, she convinced him of her true sex, following which he made advances to her. She referred to their class differences and asked him to be patient until her father promoted him. The captain, however, became angry and locked her up. Although she was rescued by a young robber, both of them were captured and imprisoned soon after. As the city's prefect happened to die that very night, they were left in prison for a month without anybody caring for them. Finally, she told her true story to the jailer's wife, who informed her husband, and together they cared for her until she had regained her health. When she was well again, she requested to be sold as a slave so that her benefactors would make some money. She was sold to a dancer, who educated her to perform music. Some time later, the king of Qandahar fell in love with her and bought her. As the king's other wives envied her, they had her thrown into the sea. She was rescued by a merchant, who brought her to Oman. When she saw Bihrūz, he reminded her of her former love, and so she requested to be sold to him.

Bihrūz is moved by the young woman's story and by her relentless determination to stay with him and so he marries her and acquires another beautiful slave girl for his friend. Bihrūz and the young woman live happily together and have three sons, all of whom grow up to be brave heroes.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 105b–113b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: B, pp. 469–488, no. 23; C, no. 7; D_1 and D_2, no. 15; E_1, no. 17; E_2, no. 16.

20. The Kadi of Bagdad and Hārūn al-Rashīd

Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and his wife, Zubayda, have the habit of sitting on a balcony observing the people down below without being seen. One day, they overhear a young man conversing with an old man, both of them laughing heartily. The caliph asks them to tell him why they are laughing, and the old man tells his story: He is the Kadi of a neighborhood in Bagdad. All his life, he has been addicted to the love of women, spending large amounts of money for his predilection. The day before, he met a procurer who had promised to find him a suitable slave girl. He followed her to her mansion and had been lavishly entertained. At a certain point, his host had suggested to him a game. Both he and the young woman he longed for were to undress and be locked inside a room. Should he manage to catch the girl, he would be entitled to possess her without having to pay for her. Chasing the girl around the room in a state of sexual arousal, he suddenly fell through a trap door and found himself in the bazaar of the cobblers. As the people made fun of him, one man pitied him and gave him shelter in his house.

Listening to the story, the caliph laughs heartily. As they do not know where the house the Kadi visited is located, the caliph promises to give him a slave girl from those living in the palace.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 113b–117a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 33; B, pp. 437–446, no. 20; C, no. 32; E_1, no. 47?; E_2, no. 46?

Comment

The tale corresponds to the *Barber's Tale of His Second Brother* in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 117–118, no. 30; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 158, no. 82). It is also attested in the fourteenth-century *-Ḥikāyāt -ʿajība* (*Das Buch der wundersamen Geschichten*, ed. Marzolph, pp. 86–91; *Tales of the Marvellous*, trans. Lyons, pp. 56–59), where, similarly to the *1001 Nights*, it

is embedded in a small series of jocular tales. Independently, the tale is variously attested in ninth- and tenth-century Arabic literature (Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 111, no. 82): in Ibn abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr's (d. 280/893) *Balāghāt al-nisāʾ* (in the chapter *Akhbār mawājin al-nisāʾ*), Ibn al-Muʿtazz's (d. 296/908) *Ṭabaqāt al-shuʿarāʾ* (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Aḥmad Farrāj [Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif, 1956], p. 310), and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's (d. 328/940) *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* ([Cairo, 1368/1949], vol. 6, pp. 388–391; *Arabesken der Liebe*, trans. Max Weisweiler [Leiden: Brill, 1954], pp. 200–204, no. 74).

A vaguely similar adventure involving a trapdoor is told in the tale of Andreuccio of Perugia in Boccaccio's *Decamerone* (second day, fifth novel).

21. Shābūr from Kāzarūn and the Merchant Muẓaffar

The brick maker Shābūr from Kāzarūn saves some money and travels to Bagdad. Spending his money in the taverns, he is reduced to poverty and lives from charity. In a mosque, he happens to meet the wealthy merchant Muẓaffar, to whom he presents himself as the son of the respectable merchant ʿAbdallāh from Kāzarūn, whose caravan had been robbed. Believing him, Muẓaffar invites him to his home and entertains him lavishly. When he is invited again the next day, a religious scholar suggests a deal to him. The merchant's daughter has been divorced by her husband three times and by law is allowed to marry him again only after she has been married to another man. Shābūr is to marry her and divorce her the following morning. In compensation, he will receive a considerable amount of money. Shābūr agrees, and they are married and spend the night together.

The young woman, however, does not want to be married to her former husband again and implores Shābūr not to divorce her. Although the woman's family, their friends, and the town's officials heavily pressure Shābūr for several days to divorce her, he does not give in. In the end, he is granted twenty days respite to prove that his father has actually sent him a caravan with riches, as he claims. Shortly before the deadline, Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and his vizier learn about Shābūr's distress, and the caliph decides to help him. He prepares forty camel loads of precious goods and

has them sent to Shābūr, pretending that his father, ʿAbdallāh, has sent them. While Shābūr wonders about the miraculous turn of events, the caliph summons him to court and explains everything to him. Shābūr becomes a powerful man in Bagdad, and the woman's former husband dies of envy.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 117a–123a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 22; B, pp. 447–462, no. 21; C, no. 33; D_1 and D_2, no. 16; O, no. 5.

Comment

The tale is the source of the fifth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Couloufe et Dilara* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 499; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 49–50, no. 144).

Sebag mentions another Ottoman Turkish version of the tale in the *Forty Viziers*, an extended version of the Persian *Sindbād-nāma* whose earliest versions probably date to the fourteenth century (Sheykh-Zāda, *The History of the Forty Vezirs, or The Story of the Forty Morns and Eves, Written in Turkish by Sheykh-Zāda*, trans. E. J. W. Gibb [London: George Redway, 1886], pp. 122–129) and a Persian version in the *Bahār-e dānish* (Scott, *Bahar Danush*, vol. 3, pp. 284–288). The legal practice that rules the tale's plot is mentioned in a modern Turkish folktale (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, p. 417, no. C 11). It also figures in several tales of the *1001 Nights*: *ʻAlâ al-Dîn Abu'l-Shâmât* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 85–87, no. 63; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 43–49, no. 18; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 117–118); *The Loser* in the Mardrus edition (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 271–272, no. 465; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 9, p. 81); *Mahmûd and His Three Sons* in the Reinhardt manuscript (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 278–280, no. 550; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 75–76, no. 240); *Story of Sultan Salîm of Egypt* in the Habicht edition (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 358–359, no. 430; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 196–197, no. 369).

When trying to convince the young man to relinquish his bride, his adversary quotes the saying “When they ask you: ‘Have you seen the camel?’ say: ‘I have not seen it!’” (*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, ed. Hazai and Tietze, fol. 118b: “*‘Deve gördüŋmi?’ dėyene ‘Görmedüm’ dė!’*”), implying that whatever happened is none of his concern. Originally, the saying is linked to the events narrated in the following tale (*Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 22). The quotation in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* documents the earliest occurrence of the saying, which is prominent in both Turkic and Persianate tradition. Beginning with Evliya Çelebi’s seventeenth-century travelogue, Robert Dankoff and Semih Tezcan, “Seyahet-name’den Bir Atasözü,” *Türk Dili Araştırmaları* 8 (1998): 15–28, discuss the saying in a considerable variety of additional sources.

22. The Three Brothers and Their Adventure with the Kadi

When the father of three brothers dies, they follow his advice to bury their inheritance in a certain place. Going to get the money later, they find that a third of it is missing. As none of them admits having taken the money, they decide to present their case to the Kadi.

On the way, they meet a Turkman who has lost his camel. One after the other, they ask him whether his camel had one eye, whether its load consisted of vinegar, and whether its tail was cut. As the Turkman thinks they know about the whereabouts of his camel, he takes them to court requesting them to pay for the camel. The three brothers, however, make the Kadi understand that their assessment resulted from certain deductions following close observation.

The Kadi admires their perspicacity and invites them to his house. Hiding himself, he listens to their conversation. One after the other, the brothers remark that the wheat used for making the bread has been harvested from a cemetery; that the lamb they are eating has been nursed by a dog; and that the Kadi himself is of illegitimate birth. Inquiring with the relevant people, the Kadi finds all their statements to be true and has them explain how they had found out.

In order to solve the brothers’ quarrel as to the missing money, the Kadi tells them a story: A young woman asks her husband on their wedding night

to permit her to go and see a former friend whom she had promised to visit, and her husband lets her go. On her way, a robber refrains from robbing her because of her husband's magnanimity. In the end, her friend does not touch her out of respect for her husband and escorts her back home. Now the Kadi asks the three brothers who of those three persons is the most noble-minded one. As the youngest brother claims that the robber committed the noblest act, he is revealed to have stolen the money.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 123a–124b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 14; B, pp. 463–468, no. 22; C, no. 17.

Comment

Introduced by a truncated version of ATU 1591: *The Three Joint Depositors* (Reimund Kvideland, "Gläubiger: Die drei G.," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 5, cols. 1274–1276), the tale is a traditional combination of tale types ATU 655: *The Wise Brothers* (Ranke, "Brüder") and ATU 976: *Which Was the Noblest Act?* (Elisheva Schoenfeld, "Handlung: Die vornehmste H.," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 6, cols. 459–464). Both tale types have already been documented in Persian tradition, albeit separately, in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (ATU 655: bk. 1, chap. 25, no. 4 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1144; ATU 976: bk. 3, introduction = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1549). ATU 976 is also known from other works of classical Persian literature, such as *Javāhir al-asmār* (pp. 157–162) and Nakhshabī's *Ṭuṭi-nāma* (pp. 115–118) = Hatami, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 66–67, no. 24; and Muḥammad-ʿAlī Hablarūdī, *Jāmiʿ al-tamṯīl*, ed. Ḥasan Ẕū 'l-faqārī (Tehran: Muʿīn, 1390/2011), pp. 148–150. All of the tale's constituents are well documented in modern Persian (Marzolph, *Typologie*, nos. 655 A, 655, 976) and Turkish (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 348) oral tradition.

The episode with the camel has given rise to a proverb, aiming to make a person understand that the witnessed events should not be his or her concern, whose first documented quotation appears in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*, no. 21 (fol. 118b). The notion of "serendipity," denoting the occurrence of

events by chance in a beneficial way or the faculty of making fortunate discoveries by accident, was introduced into the English language by Horace (Horatio) Walpole (1717–1797), referring to the above tale's version in Cristoforo Armeno's *Peregrinaggio di tre giovani figliuoli del re di Serendippo* (1557), for which see Angelo Michele Piemontese, *Gli "Otto Paradisi" di Amir Khusrau da Delhi: Una lezione persiana del "Libro di Sindbad" fonte del "Peregrinaggio" di Cristoforo Armeno* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1995); Cristoforo Armeno, *Peregrinaggio di tre giovani figliuoli del re di Serendippo*, ed. Renzo Bragantini (Rome: Salerno, 2000).

23. The King, the Vizier, and the Dogs

A king has the habit of installing a new vizier each year and throwing the old vizier into a cage to be devoured by ferocious dogs. A clever vizier makes friends with the dogs by feeding them at regular intervals. When he is finally put into the dogs' cage to be devoured and torn to pieces, the dogs do not touch him. When the king finds him safe and sound the next day, the vizier admonishes him and makes him abandon his cruel practice.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 124b–125b.

No version of the tale in a copy of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* has been documented so far.

Comment

Structurally similar to ATU 156: *Androcles and the Lion* (Kurt Ranke, "Androklus und der Löwe," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 1, cols. 501–508), the tale is a peculiar combination of the motifs "King for a year" (Mot. J 711.3; Albert Gier, "Jahreskönig," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 7, cols. 436–439) and "Punishment by being thrown to wild dogs" (Mot. Q 415.1). Both older and more recent versions of the tale have been documented, each with slightly differing details.[1] The tale's oldest known

version is told in the Persian poet Niẓāmī Ganjavī's (d. 1209) *Laylī va Majnūn*, the third of his five epical poems that are commonly known as *Khamsa* (The quintet); see Niẓāmī Ganjavī, *Laylī va Majnūn*, ed. Bihrūz S̲arvatīyān (Tehran: Tūs, 1364), pp. 218–220, no. 41. An Arabic version corresponding closely to the text in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* has been published in Adolf Wahrmund's *Praktisches Handbuch der neu-arabischen Sprache*, vol. 3, *Lesebuch in neu-arabischer Sprache* (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1861), pp. 20–21; Wahrmund quotes the text from a small collection of jocular tales that probably dates to the middle of the eighteenth century; see Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, vol. 2, p. 24, no. 788 (A.F. 344h), fol. 1v–3v. Modern versions of the tale have been documented from Algerian oral tradition, both Berber and Arabic; see Jean-Marie Dallet, *Récits du Mzab: Textes berbères de l'Oued-Mzab et traductions* (Fort National, Algeria: F.D.B., 1965), pp. 136–143; and Óscar Abenójar, Ouahiba Immoune, and Fatima-Zohra Menas, *La princesa cautiva y el pájaro del viento: Mitos y cuentos del norte de Argelia* (Madrid: Verbum, 2015), pp. 203–204, no. 39. Abenójar mentions two additional versions in his recent collections, as yet unpublished.

24. Lavvāḥa and the Moneychanger Bashar

Lavvāḥa, the clever son of a merchant from Nīshābūr, having been robbed during his pilgrimage, decides to ask for help from the moneychanger Bashar in Bagdad. Before doing so, he consults the Koran, where he reads a passage (sūra 74, 29–30) that he willfully interprets as "Bashar owes Lavvāḥa nineteen." Although the Kadi understands that Lavvāḥa's request is unfounded, he admires his wit so much that he suggests that Bashar pay the requested amount.

The Kadi invites Lavvāḥa to his home and asks him to distribute the parts of a grilled chicken between himself, the Kadi, his wife, and their two sons. Supporting the distribution with suitable arguments, Lavvāḥa gives the Kadi the chicken's head, because he is the head of the household; the woman receives the neck, because she supports her husband; and the two

sons receive the two wings, as they protect their parents; the rest he keeps for himself.

The next day, he is asked to distribute four grilled chickens equally between himself and the members of the family. Lavvāḥa gives one chicken to the Kadi and his wife, making a group of three; the second chicken he gives to the two sons, making another group of three; and the remaining two chickens he keeps for himself, again making a group of three.

The following day, the Kadi asks Lavvāḥa to distribute seven eggs between himself and the members of the family. Lavvāḥa gives each of the four men present a single egg, as they already possess two (testicles), and he gives the remaining three eggs to the woman.

Lavvāḥa takes the money that the Kadi had promised to give him and travels back home.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 125b–127b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: D_1 and D_2, no. 17.

Comment

The tale is essentially a combination of ATU 1533: *The Wise Carving of the Fowl* (Antonella Ghersetti, “Teilung: Die sinnreiche T. des Huhns,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 13, cols. 329–333) and ATU 1663: *Dividing Five Eggs Equally between Two Men and One Woman* (Ulrich Marzolph, “Teilung der Eier,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 13, cols. 315–319). The latter episode has already been documented in ʿAwfī’s *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 1, chap. 25, no. 24 = Niẓámu’d-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1164). The combination of episodes is also known from the performance of the twentieth-century Persian storyteller Mashdī Galīn Khānum; see Marzolph, *Typologie*, nos. 1533 + *1663; *Qiṣṣahā-yi Mashdī Galīn Khānum*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph, Āzar Amīr-Ḥusaynī-Nithammer, and Aḥmad Vakīlīyān (Tehran: Markaz, 1374/1995, 9th ed., 1392/2014), p. 100, no. 15.

25. Prince Khalaf, His Parents, and Their Adventures

Only in old age does a powerful king beget a son, whom he names Khalaf. Rejoicing about his fortune, the king neglects his duties to rule the country until his people depose him. As Khalaf, his parents, and their servants wander through the wilderness, first Khalaf's horse is killed by a wild beast, and then they are assaulted by robbers, who kill all their servants and steal all their belongings. About to die from thirst and hunger, they reach the shadow of a tree beside a small creek. Having reached a nearby town, Prince Khalaf tries to find work to make a living. The first day he is forced to beg, and compassionate people give him food and drink for himself and his parents. For several days he tries in vain to find work. Finally, his parents suggest that he should sell them as slaves to make some money and release them later. One night he dreams of a bright candle illuminating the way.

When the king of the country they are in is out hunting the next day, his favorite falcon happens to fly away. Khalaf finds it and returns it to the king. The king is impressed by the young man's eloquence and education, and when Khalaf asks him a favor in return, the king promises to fulfill Khalaf's wishes whatever they be. Khalaf asks the king to buy his parents, whom he presents as an old servant couple. In return, he requests a horse, a suit of armor, and some money. His request is granted, and he bids farewell to his parents and sets out.

On the way, Khalaf meets a messenger who treats him respectfully. Witnessing Khalaf's education, the messenger entrusts him with his written and oral messages to the Faghfūr, the king of China, so that Khalaf can profit from the resulting remuneration. Shortly after, they are separated in a heavy thunderstorm. When Khalaf reads the letters, he finds one saying that the bearer should be beheaded immediately. He thanks God for saving him and destroys the letters.

Having reached the city of China, he takes quarter with an old woman, who informs him about the beautiful but cruel daughter of their king. The princess has been permitted by her father to choose her own husband. Whoever courts her is asked to answer several questions. Should he not be able to give an adequate answer, he will be killed. Many young men have already lost their lives in this manner. Although the next day the prince

watches one of the princess's suitors being beheaded, he resolves to court her.

When he presents himself to the Faghfūr, the ruler tries to dissuade him from his intention. Since Khalaf insists, the competition starts the next day. The prince is able to answer all of the enigmatic questions the princess poses and returns home safely that day. On four consecutive days, the princess poses him numerous questions, to which the prince always gives a plausible answer. In the meantime, the Faghfūr repeatedly admonishes his daughter to abandon her frivolous behavior and acknowledge the prince as her future husband. In the end, the prince requests to be allowed to ask a single question himself. In rhymes, he tells her about his own adventures, asking her who that person is to whom all the events happened. The princess is not able to solve the riddle.

As the princess is afraid to be vanquished, she sends one of her beautiful maids to the prince at night in order to entice him to betray his secret. Severely drunk and driven by his desire to possess the maid, the prince informs her that the person for whose identity he has asked is no other but himself, and he proceeds to tell her his adventures. Having secured the answer, the maid leaves but is forced to leave her jewels behind. The next day the prince makes the princess understand that he is aware of the trick she played on him, insinuating that the jewels left behind by her maid could serve as proof of her unfair stratagem. The princess responds in equally veiled terms that she will not take the risk of her trick being revealed.

Khalaf and the princess marry, and he has his parents brought to China. Soon after, they reconquer their former empire with the help of the Faghfūr's army. From then on, they reign the country in justice. After his parents' death, Khalaf is installed as the new ruler. He rules wisely and visits the Faghfūr once every year.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 127b–141b (transcription and translation by Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen*, pp. 285–343).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 7; B, pp. 371–404, no. 18; C, no. 10; E_1, no. 20; E_2, no. 19; P, no. 1.

Comment

The tale is the source of the sixth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Calaf et Tourandocte* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 499–500; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 191–193, no. 113).

Sebag has published a detailed comparison between Pétis de la Croix's rendering and the Ottoman Turkish text; see Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire du Prince Calaf*. Classified as ATU 851: *The Princess Who Cannot Solve the Riddle* (Christine Goldberg, "Rätselprinzessin," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 11, cols. 286–294), an early Persian version is given in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 2, chap. 25, no. 25 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1165; German translation by Walter Behrnauer, "Der junge Perser und die griechische Prinzessin," *Johannes-Album* 2 [1857]: 57–70). The tale is frequently documented from modern Turkish oral tradition (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 212). Detailed studies of the tale's "Oriental" sources have been published by Meier, "Turandot in Persien," and Rossi, "La leggenda di Turandot." Meier, in the addendum to his essay, also discusses the fairly modern version given in the Persian chapbook *Chihil Ṭūṭī* (pp. 418–421; see Marzolph, *Čehel Ṭuṭi*, pp. 22–27, no. 2; Marzolph, *Dāstānhā-ye širin*, p. 38–39, no. XII). Goldberg's monograph study *Turandot's Sisters: A Study of the Folktale AT 851* (New York: Garland, 1993) is outdated as far as the "Oriental" data are concerned (pp. 25–31).

The motif of the letter containing the order to put the bearer to death (Mot. K 978, featuring prominently in ATU 930: *The Prophecy*; Christine Shojaei Kawan, "Uriasbrief," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 13, cols. 1262–1267), which occurs fairly disconnected in this tale, is well-known from Oriental tradition; it is also documented from modern Turkish (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 125) and Arabic (Hasan El-Shamy, *Types of the Folktales in the Arab World: A Demographically Oriented Tale-Type Index* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004], no. 0930) oral tradition.

26. The Garden Iram, Badīʿ al-Jamāl, and Prince Sayf al-Mulūk

As King ʿĀṣim b. Ṣafwān of Egypt does not have a son in his old age, he neglects his rule and retreats into solitude. His viziers Āẕarnūsh b. Māhān and Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥamīd summon the country's wise men and astrologers, who find out that the king is to beget a son from the daughter of Qaḥṭān b. ʿUmar, the ruler of Yemen. The king courts and marries her, and she gives birth to their son, Sayf al-Mulūk. Sayf grows up together with the vizier Ṣāliḥ's son Saʿīd. The astrologers predict a happy life for Sayf, except for severe difficulties he will suffer in his fourteenth year.

When the prince comes of age, his father presents him with Solomon's ring in a box. As the prince takes out a precious scarf from the box, he finds the portrait of a beautiful maiden and immediately falls in love with her. Not being able to divulge his inner feelings, the prince falls seriously ill. Only when his friend Saʿīd insists does Sayf tell him about his love. His father now remembers that the portrait shows Badīʿ al-Jamāl, the daughter of the *parī* king who rules the garden Iram. When his father promises to find a way to the garden Iram, the prince rejoices and gets well again. But although they send out messengers to the four corners of the world, nobody knows where the garden Iram is. Finally, the prince decides to find out himself.

At first Sayf and Saʿīd travel to the city of China, where an old man advises them to seek the answer in the city of Mogadishu. In a storm, Saʿīd's ship is wrecked, and Sayf is taken captive by a cannibal black people. Their ruler gives him to his daughter, but instead of devouring him, she falls in love with him and hides him. Together with two companions, the prince manages to escape on a raft. On one of the islands they reach, his companions are killed. On another island, he attaches himself to the claw of a huge bird, which carries him through the air to its nest, where the bird and its young ones are attacked and devoured by a huge serpent.

In a palace on the island Isfīd-bāsh, the prince finds the daughter of the king of Sarandīb, Malika Khātūn, and breaks a spell that had kept her in constant sleep. She has been abducted by a huge bird in the service of a *parī* prince who holds her captive. Malika Khātūn tells Sayf that when she was a child, her mother made friends with a *parī* woman whose daughter Badīʿ al-

Jamāl she also suckled. Visiting her mother once every month, Badīʿ al-Jamāl has since grown up to be a young woman.

The princess knows where her abductor's soul is hidden. With the help of Solomon's ring, they lift a crystal coffin from the bottom of the sea. The prince kills the pigeon that comes out when they open the coffin, and the *parī* who had abducted the princess immediately falls dead from the skies. Experiencing various adventures during their travels, they finally reach the city of Wāsiṭ, which is ruled by the princess's uncle Tāj al-Mulūk. Seeing his niece alive and well, Tāj al-Mulūk rejoices, entertains them lavishly, and then sends them on to Sarandīb. There Sayf al-Mulūk lives in the king's palace and becomes one of the king's intimates. One day he is reunited with his friend Saʿīd, who tells him about the adventures he experienced having been imprisoned first by the Nasnās people and then by cannibal black men who had threatened to devour him. Although he suffered many misfortunes, he had been saved and had finally come to Sarandīb.

Gradually, Malika Khātūn introduces Sayf al-Mulūk to Badīʿ al-Jamāl, and they fall deeply in love with each other. Although Badīʿ al-Jamāl knows that a happy marriage between a *parī* and a human is almost impossible, she trusts Sayf al-Mulūk and helps him win the support of her grandmother Sarvar-i Bānūvān, who lives in the Silver City. Sarvar-i Bānūvān brings Sayf al-Mulūk to Badīʿ al-Jamāl's father, Shahbāl, in the garden Iram, but Sayf is caught and abducted by the brothers of the *parī* he killed when saving Malika Khātūn. King Shahbāl vanquishes the king of Qulẓum and frees Sayf al-Mulūk. Testing Sayf al-Mulūk on various occasions, King Shahbāl finds him beyond reproach and gives his consent for Sayf al-Mulūk and Badīʿ al-Jamāl to marry.

When Sayf al-Mulūk returns to Egypt after a year in Sarandīb, his father installs him as his successor and Saʿīd as his vizier. Sayf al-Mulūk rules justly for 150 years and has two sons from Badīʿ al-Jamāl.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 141b–152b, L228a–L232a; the French translation by La Braze, language student in Constantinople, dated 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 104, no. 944) served as the basis for the *Histoire de Bedihulgemal* attributed to the Comte de

Caylus (*Œuvres badines*, vol. 7, pp. 192–265; see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, p. 134, no. 335 F; vol. 4, p. 222; vol. 7, p. 72–73, no. 348 C).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: G_1, no. 13 = French translation by Bricteux, *Contes persans*, pp. 427–439; H, pp. 263–329, no. 11; I, no. 8; L, no. 2; M, no. 3.

Comment

The tale is the source of the tenth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Séyfel-Mulouk et Bedy al-Jémal* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 502; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 70–72, no. 348 B).

A version of the tale is contained in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 362–364, no. 229; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, pp. 64–70, no. 348 A).

27. Tamīm al-Dārī al-Anṣārī and the *Jinn*s

A woman asks Caliph ʿUmar for permission to remarry, since her husband disappeared quite some time ago. Seven years later, ʿUmar grants permission, and she marries a young man. On their wedding night, a shabby character comes to her house and tells her that he is her lost husband, Tamīm. The next morning, they present themselves to ʿUmar, and the man explains that he has been living underground for the past seven years. In the presence of the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin ʿAli ibn Abī Ṭālib, Tamīm tells his story.

As one night Tamīm forgets to pronounce the name of God before washing himself, he is abducted by a group of demons (ʿ*ifrīt*s) and is forced to live with them underground. He is saved by a group of Muslim *jinn*s, with whom he lives for some time. When he expresses his wish to return home, he learns that it would take him eighty years to travel to Medina. The king of the *jinn*s leads him to an ʿ*ifrīt* who is to carry him airborne on his back and teaches him a prayer that will protect him. High up in the air, Tamīm hears the angels sing and for a moment forgets to say the prayer. An angel throws a fireball at him, and the ʿ*ifrīt* falls into the sea.

Tamīm is washed ashore and meets a wondrous speaking bird who comforts him. In a garden, he meets the "mount of the earth" (*dābbat al-ʿarḍ*) that is mentioned in the Koran. An *ʿifrīt* promises to bring him back home if he helps him during a venture. The *ʿifrīt* attempts to steal Solomon's powerful ring so as to rule the earth. The ring, however, is protected by numerous creatures. The *ʿifrīt* possesses magic pebbles to appease the creatures, and he gives Tamīm some of the pebbles to rescue him should he be seriously injured. At the third attempt to take the ring, the *ʿifrīt* is killed.

Taking the dead *ʿifrīt*'s ring, Tamīm reaches the *ʿifrīt*'s house and meets a human Muslim woman who knows his story and has, as a matter of fact, been waiting to see him. She orders another *ʿifrīt* to transport him, and the demon delivers him to a place from which he continues to travel on foot. During the journey, he witnesses numerous marvelous and strange events whose hidden meaning is later explained to him. When he has been away from home for more than seven years, he finally meets al-Khaḍir, who has him brought back home on a cloud. The story ends with Tamīm explaining the nature of the *jinn*s to ʿUmar and ʿAlī. They reunite him with his wife, and the couple lives happily for a long time.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. L232b–L248a; the French translation by Julien Claude Galland, language student in Constantinople, dated 1731 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 95, no. 914) served as the basis for the publication by the Comte de Caylus, titled *Temimdari, le soldat* (*Œuvres badines*, vol. 7, pp. 384–393; see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, p. 134, no. 335 F; vol. 4, p. 222; vol. 5, p. 47–49, no. 241 A).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: F, pp. 331–356, no. 22 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 64–68, no. 22 + 22a.

Comment

Together with no. 35, the tale is the source of the sixteenth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Le deuxième voyage d'Aboulfaouaris* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les*

mille et un jours, ed. Sebag, p. 506; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, pp. 60–62, no. 6 A).

A version of the tale is contained in an early edition of Gustav Weil's German translation of the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 408, no. 444; cf. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, pp. 50–54, no. 241 B) but has been omitted in later editions. On Tamīm al-Dārī and his adventures, see Francesca Bellino, "Tamīm al-Dārī the Intrepid Traveller: Emergence, Growth and Making of a Legend in Arabic Literature," *Oriente moderno* 89, no. 2 (2009): 197–225.

28. Dukayn, Ḥabīb, and the Young Woman

The cameleer Dukayn b. Ḥabīb tells his story to Ibn al-ʿAbbās during an assembly.

One night, a man asks Dukayn to take some of his camels and follow him to a mountain. There the man goes away and returns with a large bag, from which he retrieves a young woman. Although the woman begs for mercy, the man stabs her numerous times and then buries her. Before leaving the place, Dukayn thinks of taking the woman's jewelry. He opens the grave and finds the woman alive. He takes her to his home and nurses her until she recovers.

The woman tells him her story: The man who tried to kill her was her husband, ʿĀmir. Some time ago, she had been bewitched by the sorcerer Ḥabīb, who had appeared in the shape of her husband and put a spell on her to be mortally in love with him. He also forced her to transform her husband into a raven. Meanwhile, her husband's sister had been informed about the true nature of the events by a *parī* who appeared to her in a dream. The *parī* asked the advice of her husband, ʿAdīs. As Ḥabīb's spell was extremely powerful, ʿAdīs asked the advice of the powerful ʿ*ifrīt* Dāhī, whom Solomon had confined to live in a casket at the bottom of the Chinese sea. Dāhī informed ʿAdīs about a complex and dangerous procedure that brought him to the powerful sorcerer Harīm. Harīm and his people advised ʿAdīs about an equally complex and dangerous procedure that brought him to the sorcerer Dahāvush. In the end, Dahāvush caught a fish in whose body there was a knotted hair that kept ʿĀmir spellbound. In

order to break the spell, ʿAdīs would have to burn the hair under ʿĀmir's body. Then Dahāvush ordered ʿAdīs to fell and burn a certain tree, as a result of which the sorcerer Ḥabīb was killed and burnt. After ʿAdīs's return, he explained everything to ʿĀmir's sister. He broke the spell binding ʿĀmir, and for a short while it seemed that everything was getting back to normal. The woman dressed up to meet her husband, but her husband put her into the bag, carried her away, and then stabbed her.

Having heard the woman's story, Dukayn fell in love with the woman. He lived with her for a time, until one day a warrior entered their house and cut off her head.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. L248a–L261b, 172a–172b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: F, pp. 247–256, no. 16 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 53–56, no. 16 + 16a.

Comment

Not mentioned in Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, p. 506, the names of the two *parī* sorcerers, Dāhī and ʿAdīs, appear in the seventeenth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Adis et Dahy*. The plot of that tale is, however, totally different. The motif of the sorcerer's appearance in the shape of the woman's husband appears also in Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma* = Hatami, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 73–75, no. 20, and in *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, manuscript F, pp. 590–593, no. 37 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 98–99, no. 37.

29. The Barmakī Yaḥyā and the Blind Man

A blind man, cleverly interpreting the words he hears, finds a chest of jewels that had been stolen from Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. It had been stolen by a chamberlain who hid it inside a well.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 172b–173b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: K, no. 2b.

Comment
The tale probably corresponds to a tale in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 1, chap. 25, no. 6 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1146), whose content is given as follows: "An old blind astrologer by intuition finds out the thief who stole a precious casket given in charge to Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide."

30. The Pious Bedouin, His Daughter Ūrvīya, and the Persons Who Troubled Them

Ūrvīya, the beautiful and pious daughter of the pious Bedouin Maysān, gets married only after her father's death. When her husband is about to travel to Egypt, he entrusts her to the care of his brother. The brother falls in love with Ūrvīya and makes advances to her, but she does not give in. The man is so enraged that he pays four false witnesses to testify that the woman has committed adultery, and she is sentenced to be stoned to death.

A robber finds Ūrvīya still alive and brings her to his house. Together with his wife, they nurse her until she gets well, and she lives with them in pious devotion. Some time later, the man's black slave falls in love with Ūrvīya and makes advances to her. As she does not give in, he is so enraged that he kills his master's baby son and arranges the scene so that it looks as if she committed the murder. Although the robber does not believe that she would have been able to kill the child, the circumstances force him to send her away. In another town, she spends the money she received for her livelihood to save a young debtor from the gallows. The young man joins her in traveling and soon makes advances to her, to which she does not give in. When they reach the seashore, the man pretends that she is his slave girl and sells her to a merchant, who takes her away on his ship. Ūrvīya implores the Lord to save her, and the ship is wrecked in a heavy storm. Both she and the man who had bought her are saved but reach the shore in different places.

The ruler of the kingdom that Ūrvīya now reaches has a hand that is paralyzed. Following Ūrvīya's prayer, the hand is healed. But when the king makes advances to her, the hand again becomes paralyzed. Realizing her sanctity, the king repents, apologizes, and is again healed. He and his people convert to Islam, and after the king's death, Ūrvīya is installed as the new ruler. She rules justly and has a tavern built to care for the poor and needy. The fame of her holiness spreads wide and far.

In the meantime, Ūrvīya's husband returns from his travels and finds that his brother has become blind. As he believes his brother's story about Ūrvīya, he sets out to visit the famed saintly ruler so that his brother may be cured. On the way, they pass by the house of the robber, whose black slave has become paralyzed, and the robber joins them together with his slave. Still further on, they meet an old woman whose son has become paralyzed, and they join the travelers. Traveling by boat, they reach an island, where they meet the merchant who had bought Ūrvīya, and he also joins them. Eventually, they reach Ūrvīya's kingdom. As Ūrvīya has instructed her people to watch out for travelers fitting the description she gave, they are brought to her presence.

Ūrvīya asks each of the travelers to confess his deeds exactly as they happened, promising to pray for them so that they will be healed from their afflictions. Although at first reluctant, the men confess their wrongdoing and are healed one after the other. In the end, Ūrvīya discloses her true identity and asks her husband to take over the country's rule. As her husband prefers to share her life in pious isolation, they install her husband's brother as the new ruler.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 173b–187a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 6 = French translation in Axel Wallensköld, *Le conte de la femme chaste convoitée par son beau-frère: Étude de littérature comparée* (Helsingfors: Societatis Litterariae Fennicae, 1907), pp. 99–111; K, no. 2a.

Comment

The tale is the source of the nineteenth and final tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Histoire de Repsima* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 507–508; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 159–160, no. 323).

The tale corresponds to ATU 712: *Crescentia*. Its "Oriental" origins have been studied in detail by Ulrich Marzolph, "Crescentia's Oriental Relatives: The 'Tale of the Pious Man and His Chaste Wife' in the *Arabian Nights* and the Sources of *Crescentia* in Near Eastern Narrative Tradition," *Marvels & Tales* 22, no. 2 (2008): 240–258, 299–311; see also Rossi, "La fonte turca della novella poetica albanese 'Erveheja'"; Wallensköld, *Le conte de la femme chaste*, particularly pp. 17–22. Early Persian versions of the tale are contained in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 3, chap. 23, no. 8 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1766) as well as in *Javāhir al-asmār* (pp. 366–371) and Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (pp. 266–274) = Hatami, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 108–110, no. 52. The *1001 Nights* contain several version of the tale: *The Jewish Qādī and His Pious Wife* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, pp. 242–243, no. 163; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 154–155, no. 321; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 161–162), *The Devotee Accused of Lewdness* in the Breslau edition (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, p. 167, no. 306; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 157–158, no. 322 B), and *Oft-Proved Fidelity* in the Wortley-Montague manuscript (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, pp. 319–320, no. 512; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 155–156, no. 322 A).

31. Solomon, the Phoenix, and Their Dispute Concerning Fate and Destiny

The Phoenix boasts to Solomon that she can change the course of preordained destiny. Solomon informs her that the newly born son of the eastern king is destined to impregnate the newly born daughter of the western king in the fifteenth year of her life, without them having married. The Phoenix sets out to prevent that from happening.

The Phoenix abducts the girl and brings her up in her lofty abode on a tree that grows on top of an island behind the seven seas. The boy leaves his country when he is seven years of age. Traveling on sea, his ship is

wrecked, and he eventually arrives in Egypt. From there he sets out to explore the source of the river Nile. Before he leaves, the official whom he has served for two years gives him an object that will enable him to understand the language of the birds and beasts. On the way, he sees a group of trees whose shiny fruits are covered in bags of cloth. The king of that country orders his viziers to join him in order to find out the hidden meaning of the trees. During their travels, they witness various other enigmatic deeds and events. Eventually, they come to an old and frail man whom they ask for advice. He advises them to ask his brother, who, although he is older, appears physically to be younger. The brother tells them to seek the advice of a third brother, who again is older but looks still younger. The third brother tells them that the reason for his good shape is the fact that he has an obedient wife. He informs them that the fruits on the trees are actually jewels that grew during the reign of a just king. As neither the person who planted the trees nor the king felt entitled to harvest the fruits, they had covered them with cloth bags so that nobody would covet them. He also explains to them the meaning of the other enigmatic events they had witnessed, and the viziers return home.

Arriving at another city, the prince is invited to rest in a house for some days. He overhears the donkey advise the ox to feign illness so as not to have to work so hard. When he laughs about the donkey's advice, the master of his house and his wife inquire about the reason for his laughter, but he informs them that he is not entitled to share the secret. He laughs again when the donkey advises the ox to return to work so as not to be slaughtered, and again he says that he is not entitled to inform his hosts why, specifying that he is doomed to die if the woman understands the reason for his laughter. Soon after, he hears the dog wonder to the cock why he does not simply tell the woman that it is none of her concern. Laughing again, the prince informs the man about the reason for his laughter, following which the man gives the woman a beating and tells her to mind her own business.

Traveling on, an old man advises the prince to attach himself to the claw of a large bird that will bring him to a place of iron. From there he will reach a place of copper and then a place of gold. Finally, he will reach a large cupola that contains the source of the world's four great rivers. Having seen that, he should return in his own footsteps, have a bird transport him

back, and bury the old man. The prince follows the advice and reaches the cupola. Before leaving, a voice tells him to take along a certain grape that will satisfy his hunger for as long as he lives. He does so, but soon after, the devil (Iblīs) in the shape of a venerated old man tricks him into losing the grape.

The young man joins a group of merchants. Their boat is shipwrecked, and only he and three horses reach the shore safely. As one of the horses is severely injured, he slaughters it, feeds on the meat, and sleeps in the hide at night. On top of a mountain, he sees a large tree. The tree happens to be the one where the Phoenix is bringing up the girl. The prince and the girl see each other, and he falls in love with her. As she has never seen a human being and thinks the Phoenix to be her mother, the prince tells her to ask the Phoenix for a mirror. Having seen herself in the mirror, she pretends to feel bored in the daytime when the Phoenix is away and asks the Phoenix to bring her down to the seashore. As the Phoenix sees no living being but two horses, she brings the girl down, and she and the prince make love. Some days later, the Phoenix fears that something might happen to the girl and refuses to bring her down again. Instead, she brings the hide of the horse up to her nest, not knowing that the young man is hiding inside.

Finally Solomon asks the Phoenix to prove her claim that she could prevent the girl from being pregnant at the age of fifteen, and the Phoenix delivers the hide to him. When in addition to the girl, she sees the young man and their baby son inside, she is so ashamed that she flies away to Mount Qāf and has never been seen since.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 187b–198b; the French translation from an unspecified Turkish manuscript by Antoine Fonton, language student in Constantinople, dated 1742 (Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 2, p. 101, no. 932), served as the basis for the publication by the Comte de Caylus, titled *Le griffon* (*Œuvres badines*, vol. 7, pp. 442–458; see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 4, p. 134, no. 335 F; vol. 4, p. 222; vol. 6, p. 29–30, no. 201).

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 11; D_1 and D_2, no. 18; F, pp. 533–548, no. 33 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 84–93, no. 33 + 33a; G_1, no. 10 = French translation by Bricteux, *Contes persans*, pp. 305–344; H, pp. 51–73, no. 2.

Comment

The frame of the tale is a well-known tale from the genre of *Qiṣaṣ al-anbīyāʾ*; an early version is contained in the work of al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1036; see al-Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ as Recounted by Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Thaʿlabī*, trans. William M. Brinner [Leiden: Brill, 2002], pp. 498–505). It is also documented from modern Turkish oral tradition (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 140).

The stories embedded in the young man's adventures correspond to ATU 726: *The Three Old Men* (Hannjost Lixfeld, "Alten: Die drei A.", in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 1, cols. 383–387; Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. *726) and ATU 670: *The Man Who Understands Animal Languages* (Andreas Johns, "Tiersprachenkundiger Mensch," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 13, cols. 642–649; Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. 670). Persian versions of ATU 726 are contained in Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, pp. 400–403 = Hatami, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 155–158, no. 79; and in Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd Farāhī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, pp. 21/-3–33/13. ATU 670 also appears prominently in the frame tale of the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 129–130, no. 2; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 179–180, no. 104; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 95–97).

32. The Baldheaded Gardener and the Daughter of the King of Yemen

The son of the king of Pārs overhears two men compare his beauty to that of the princess of Yemen, Fakhr al-Nisāʾ. Falling in love with her, he is, however, warned that no man may ever look at her, or he will be executed. Having traveled to Yemen, the prince one day hears a bell man announce that all people should stay in their houses, as the princess wishes to visit her

garden. Ignoring the warning, the prince stays out in the street and is about to be executed for breaking the taboo. But as the princess's maids see his beauty, they pity him and let him go.

The prince bribes the gardener to allow him to enter the garden so as to see the princess. Masqueraded as a woman, the prince watches the princess and her entourage feast and then take a bath in the pond. He is, however, discovered, and the king orders him to be executed the next day. Meanwhile, the king of Morocco has arrived to ask the king of Yemen to marry the one's daughter to the other's son. As the king of Yemen respects his daughter's wish not to be married, he rejects the offer, and the king of Morocco becomes angry, threatening to wage war on them. Ridden by fears, the king of Yemen becomes severely sick, and in order to appease fate, he has the people pray for him and releases the prisoners. As the prince is set free, he implores the gardener to hire him as his apprentice, and the gardener masquerades him with a rumen on his head to appear baldheaded.

When the prince is alone in the garden, he takes the habit of singing and playing music. One day, the vizier's son, Shams al-Malik, overhears him and has him brought to court, where he entertains the king. Soon the princess learns about him and has him brought to her presence. When he performs a song disclosing his love for her, she falls in love with him. Her wet nurse finds out that the gardener's apprentice is not a baldheaded pauper after all but is apparently a man of noble descent. He confesses his love for the princess to the wet nurse and tells her his story.

When the troops of the king of Morocco arrive the next day to wage war on Yemen, the prince defeats and beheads their commander. Praised by the king of Yemen, the prince tells the king his story, and the king rejoices about having such a noble son-in-law.

The prince and Fakhr al-Nisāʾ marry and live in Yemen for two years. The prince then returns to his home country, and his father passes the rule on to him, and the couple live many years happily together.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 198b–206b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 9; C, no. 22; F, pp. 64–75, no. 5 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 30–31, no. 5; H, pp. 227–261, no. 10.

Comment

The taboo not to look at the princess (or another prominent female character) during her public appearance is mentioned in various tales of the *1001 Nights*: *ʿAlāʾal-Dīn; or, The Wonderful Lamp* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 82–85, no. 346; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, p. 61, no. 19; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 131–132), originally performed by Ḥannā Diyāb; *Qamar al-Zamān and the Jeweler's Wife* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 345–347, no. 260; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, p. 212, no. 121; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 119); *The Sweep and the Noble Lady* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 403–404, no. 72; Chauvin, *Bibliographie* vol. 6, p. 148, no. 306); *The Warlock and the Young Cook of Baghdad* in the Chavis manuscript (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 443–444, no. 412; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, p. 101, no. 376). The character of the baldheaded apprentice of the gardener figures prominently in ATU 314: *Goldener*, a tale that is particularly well documented in Turkish (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, nos. 257, 258) and Persian (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. *314) oral tradition.

33. Khālid and the Garrulous Barber

After the death of the rich merchant Afʿī, his son, Khālid, squanders his inheritance so rashly that his two sisters ask the caliph to secure their share. When Khālid is broke, one day he rests on a bench and is seen by the beautiful slave girl Nawbahār, who falls in love with him. She is the favorite concubine of the caliph's cousin Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar. Having sent Khālid generous amounts of money for some days, the girl lets him know that she would like to meet him the next day. In order to prepare himself, he asks a barber to shave his head.

Yūsuf the barber is a garrulous person. Every now and then he cuts a few hairs and then interrupts his work to give futile pieces of advice.

Hoping to get rid of him, Khālid finally tells him about the projected rendezvous and even takes him along, as the barber insists on protecting him. As the barber had kept him busy for too long, Khālid arrives too late for the rendezvous and is asked to return the next day.

The next day, Nawbahār invites him in, and they spend a merry time together. When suddenly Nawbahār's master, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, arrives, Khālid hides on the upper floor. As it happens, the master of the house finds a dead fly in his meal and orders that the master of the kitchen be given a heavy beating. The barber, who is waiting in front of the house, suspects that the loud cries he hears are those of Khālid and gathers a crowd of people to demand Khālid's release. Although the master of the house has no idea that Khālid is there, the barber insists on searching the house, finds him, and brings him to the master's presence. As Khālid pretends not to know anything about Nawbahār, the barber insists that he must be punished, and following an order from the caliph, Khālid is sentenced to be hanged. The hangman, however, pities him. He lets him escape, and Khālid finds refuge in the house of a nobleman.

The barber finds the nobleman and warns him not to act against the caliph's order, but the nobleman drives him away and entertains Khālid in his house. At night, when Khālid wants to use the lavatory, a slave girl thinks that he intends to rape her. The nobleman delivers a heavy beating to Khālid and wants to hang him the next day. The slave girl repents and aims to free Khālid but is accidentally killed. Now the nobleman understands that Khālid is innocent and lets him go. The barber, who is still waiting in front of the house, accompanies him. On the way, Khālid happens to fall into a cesspool without the barber noticing. Khālid is saved and cleaned, and when he returns home, he sees the barber waiting for him in front of his house. Khālid enters the house from a different entrance and for fear of meeting the barber again stays inside for months.

One day, the chief chamberlain wants to know what happened to Khālid and has him summoned. When Khālid leaves the house, the barber reminds him of the caliph's order. But the chamberlain also asks Khālid about his relation to the barber, and when Khālid tells him about the misfortune he suffered because of the barber, the chamberlain punishes the barber for his wickedness. Following the chamberlain's recommendation, Khālid is summoned to the caliph, to whom he tells his story, and the barber is

hanged. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar donates Nawbahār to Khālid, and the caliph makes him his boon companion.

Khālid and Nawbahār marry and live together for fifty years. All of their sons gain important positions in Bagdad.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 206b–213a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 2; C, no. 40; E_1, no. 29; E_2, no. 28; F, pp. 403–426, no. 24 II = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 70–72, no. 24 B; N, no. 4?; K, no. 2f.

Comment

The tale's plot corresponds to that of *The Tale of the Barber* in the *1001 Nights*, which is embedded in *The Hunchback's Tale* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 405–406, no. 27; Chauvin *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 154–156, no. 78; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, pp. 110–111).

34. Dalla the Cheater and Her Adversaries

In the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd, an astrologer in Bagdad predicts that the girl to be born to a couple under strange circumstances will cause great misfortune. When Dalla is twenty years of age, a young man woos her. Before accepting his courting, she asks him to show her the tricks he knows. With a clever trick relating to the different value of various currencies, the man cheats a moneychanger out of a large amount of money. Impressed by his trick, Dalla agrees to marry the man, Mukhtāl, and bears him three daughters, all of whom they marry to famous cheaters. From then on, she performs all kinds of tricks to cheat people out of their possessions, often presenting herself as an old and pious woman.

(1) Dalla presents herself as the aunt of a beautiful young woman and pretends that she has been gone on pilgrimage for many years. Now that she has returned, the "aunt" wants the young woman to see her son, who is

madly in love with her. She takes the woman to a young man whom she has convinced that the woman is madly in love with him. While the couple are enjoying themselves, Dalla steals all their clothes and jewels.

(2) When a man recognizes Dalla and clings onto her, she pretends to the people that he is her son who is having a fit of madness. The people bring him to the mental asylum, where he receives a heavy beating. Some days later, a friend of his happens to see him and has him released.

(3) When a muleteer recognizes Dalla, she promises him a mule so as to get rid of him. She brings him to the shop of a barber, to whom she pretends that the man is her slave whose teeth hurt but who is terribly afraid of being treated. While the muleteer is being treated against his will, she disappears with his possessions.

(4) Noticing that a blind man hides his money in his coat, Dalla pretends to the blind man to be his wife, whom he had left, and instructs her daughters to address him as their father. Although the blind man finds it hard to believe their story, he finally gives in and accepts the situation. Dalla exchanges his old coat for a new one and uses him as a security for some precious jewels that she takes from the jeweler. Soon it becomes apparent that Dalla has swindled both the blind man and the jeweler out of their possessions.

(5) Dalla makes a clothier believe that she would like to make love to him, locks him up in a room, and steals all his merchandise.

(6) Dalla steals jewelry from a goldsmith by making him believe that the purse she leaves with him is full of gold, while in reality it holds only rice.

(7) Meeting the poet Abū Dulāma, Dalla makes him believe that she had been transformed into a mule and that she has served him for a long time. Apologizing for the trouble he has caused, Abū Dulāma invites her to his house and entertains her lavishly. She drugs him unconscious and steals all of his possessions.

(8) When the vizier’s daughter is to be married to the caliph, Dalla makes her way into the house with a thousand lies and steals all the jewelry.

(9) Overhearing a gang of robbers dividing their booty, Dalla and her daughters undress, paint their bodies black, and frighten away the robbers, who believe them to be demons.

(10) Dalla overhears a Jew mention to his servant that he will buy a medicine that will make his wife pregnant. Pretending that the pharmacist has sent her, she enters the house and asks the wife to undress. Then she gives the wife a certain potion to drink and asks her to insert a cucumber into her vagina and leave it there. The servant girl, who also wants to become pregnant, is treated in the same manner. Then Dalla binds the women's feet together, searches the house, and steals all the valuables.

(11) Seeing the poet Abū Nuwās, who is known for his homosexual preferences, Dalla tricks him out of a large amount of money by pretending that a boy is waiting for him.

(12) Dalla makes a young man undress and go down into a well to retrieve a bucket she let fall down. She steals his dress and, showing the dress at the young man's home, also receives his purse.

(13) To a muleteer, Dalla sells a mule, telling him that she has a second mule of the same kind. He hands her the money for both mules, and she sends it to her daughters, who are hiding in a ruined building they have draped as if it were inhabited. When the servant whom Dalla has sent inside does not return, she pretends to go and look for him and disappears.

(14) Dalla sells a young eunuch to a slave dealer, pretending that the slave belongs to her.

(15) Dalla pretends to be the widow of ʿAbdallāh, the vizier Yaḥyā al-Barmakī's predecessor. Now that her husband is dead, she and her daughters are forced to live in poverty. Yaḥyā sends them a considerable amount of money, and just before her trick is exposed, she escapes.

(16) Pretending to prepare a wedding feast, Dalla asks a rich banker to buy some of her jewelry so that she will have cash money. The banker falls into a well that she and her daughters have prepared for him. Before pulling him up, she asks him to send up his dress so that it will not be damaged. Then she takes off with the banker's money and the dress.

(17) Masquerading as the Kadi, Dalla offers to protect a couple that has previously been cheated by her. She has them go down into a cellar, where she locks them up. Then she and her daughters plunder the house.

(18) When Dalla is caught, she is publicly displayed and bound to the gallows. She convinces a camel rider to go look for a treasure, and in the meantime, one of her daughters steals the camel. Then the people put her into a trunk that is to be thrown into the sea. On the boat, she shouts from

inside the trunk and makes the captain believe that she is the chamberlain's mother and that the chamberlain will certainly regret having given orders to drown her. They set her free, and she manages to trick the captain's wife out of a large amount of money.

As Dalla feels that life in Bagdad has become too dangerous for her, she and her daughters move to Egypt. Aiming to plunder the house of a nobleman in Egypt, she is, however, caught, together with her companions. All of them are executed, and the possessions they have stolen are returned to their rightful owners.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 213a–226b; French translation by Decourdemanche, *Les ruses des femmes*, pp. 83–160.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: A, no. 5; C, no. 56; F, pp. 620–649, no. 43 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 109–110, no. 43; I, no. 7; J, no. 11; O, no. 1.

Comment

The female trickster character Dalla (a contracted form of Dalīla) the crafty (*al-muḥtāla*) is well-known in Persian tradition since the eleventh century; see Muḥammad Jaʿfar Maḥjūb, "Dalīla-yi muḥtāla," *Irānshināsī* 7, no. 3 (1374/1995): 500–530. An early tale about her, in which she is, however, not successful, is given in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 3, pt. 2, pp. 652–653 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1750). A shorter version of Dalla's tricks is given in the tale *Dalīla the Crafty and Her Daughter Zaynab* in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 163–164, no. 224; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 5, pp. 245–250, no. 147; Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits*, p. 127). Persian chapbook versions of the tale have been published since the beginning of the twentieth century (Marzolph, *Dāstānhā-ye širin*, pp. 39–40, no. 13).

Several of Dalla's tricks are documented in international narrative tradition, including the trick of leaving a person as a presumed security for valuables (no. 4; ATU 1526: *The Old Beggar and the Robbers*; Ranke, "Der Bettler als Pfand," in *Die Welt der Einfachen Formen*, pp. 237–238; Ranke,

“Bettler als Pfand,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 2, cols. 266–267; see also Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd Farāhī’s *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*; Rehatsek, *Amusing Stories*, pp. 42–51, no. 13; Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. 1526); the trick of posing as a person who had allegedly been transformed into a donkey (no. 7; ATU 1529: *Thief as Donkey*; Milko Matičetov, “Dieb als Esel,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 3, cols. 640–643; Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. 1529; Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 351 [3]), whose earliest documented version is contained in Ibn al-Jawzī’s (d. 1201) book on stupid people, *Akhbār al-Ḥamqā* (Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, vol. 2, p. 266, no. 1249); and the trick of freeing oneself from being drowned by making the executioner believe an impossible story (no. 18; ATU 1737: *The Clergyman in the Sack to Heaven*; Harlinda Lox, “Pfarrer im Sack,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 10, cols. 884–887). Regarding the latter episode, Josef Horovitz, “Zur Geschichte von der verschlagenen Dalīla,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 54 (1900): 333–335, discusses an almost identical version in the work of the Arab historian al-Maqqarrī (d. 1631).

35. Abū ’l-Favāris the Seaman

A merchant hires the ship of the seaman Abū ’l-Favāris to bring him to a certain island. There, the merchant sends him down into some underground caves to harvest large pearls. Although the merchant has promised to share the revenue, he leaves Abū ’l-Favāris down in the cave and departs without him. Having escaped from the cave, Abū ’l-Favāris is taken aboard a ship that sails toward India. The seamen reach a magnetic mountain and are able to save themselves from a maelstrom. Going ashore, Abū ’l-Favāris finds a magic drum whose beating will enable the ship to pass the maelstrom safely.

Abū ’l-Favāris stays on the island, climbs up the mountain, and meets a shepherd. Only after the shepherd has blocked him up inside a cave does he understand that his benefactor is, in fact, a cannibal who has the habit of feeding his victims until they are fat enough to be slaughtered. As the cannibal is asleep after a sumptuous meal, Abū ’l-Favāris pushes two red-hot spits into his eyes and tries to make his escape. As the cannibal’s sheep

leave the cave, Abū ’l-Favāris kills one of the sheep, throws the hide over his back, and leaves the cave crawling on his legs. Although the cannibal notices him, he manages to run down to the shore and swim away.

Back on the shore, Abū ’l-Favāris comes to a village of cannibals. The wife of the man who takes him in treats him kindly, as he is useful in doing the daily chores. When the couple learn about the shepherd’s death, they install Abū ’l-Favāris as his successor. Gradually, Abū ’l-Favāris befriends one of the guards so as to find a way to make his escape. After a while, he kills the guard and his wife and runs away. Eventually, he reaches the shore and is taken aboard a ship that takes him back to Basra.

After some days, Abū ’l-Favāris again meets the pearl merchant, who does not recognize him, and proceeds to take his revenge. He travels with the merchant to the place where they harvested the pearls. There he pretends not to understand what he should do and sends the merchant down to instruct him. When the merchant has done his work, Abū ’l-Favāris leaves him down there to die. Back on the ship, he throws the merchant’s slave into the water and returns home safely.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 226b–230b.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: F, pp. 524–532, no. 32 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 82–84, no. 32; K, no. 2e.

Comment

Together with no. 27, the tale is the source of the fifteenth tale of the *1001 Days*, titled *Le premier voyage d’Aboulfaouaris* (Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, ed. Sebag, pp. 505–506; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, pp. 60–62, no. 6 A).

The frame tale is a version of tale type ATU 936*: *The Golden Mountain* (Ulrich Marzolph, “Hasan von Basra,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 6, cols. 538–540), which is frequently documented from Persian (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. 936*) and Turkish (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 198) oral tradition. The embedded tale corresponds to

ATU 1137: *The Blinded Ogre* (JoAnn Conrad, “Polyphem,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 10, cols. 1174–1184).

36. Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna

(1) An old man presents some apples to Sultan Maḥmūd, who is renowned for his generosity. By accident, the old man is imprisoned together with a group of culprits and stays in jail for a whole year. Only when the sultan has a dream does he have the prison inmates brought to him to ask them about their crimes. The sultan discovers that the old man has been imprisoned by accident, asks his forgiveness, and promises that he may take from the treasury whatever he wants. The old man takes an axe, a copy of the Koran, and a single *dīnār*: the axe to chop down the apple tree that has caused his misfortune, the *dīnār* to pay someone to do the work, and the Koran to swear an oath that he will never plant an apple tree again.

(2) Seeing an old man who is planting some fruit trees, Sultan Maḥmūd finds it unlikely that the old man will actually live to eat the fruits. As the old man is confident that he will, Sultan Maḥmūd swears to divorce his wife if this happens. Many years later, the sultan passes the garden again and sees that the old man is still alive and that the trees do, in fact, bear fruit. But the old man tells him that he has never tasted the fruits because he is afraid that the sultan would have to divorce his wife to stay true to his oath.

(3) Sultan Maḥmūd rewards an old man for his wise insight. He plants trees not for himself but for others; he is able to harvest only because others have planted the trees before him; and considering the money he received from the sultan, he has harvested fruits not only once but twice.

(4) A group of tricksters plan to profit from the sultan’s generosity. For several days in a row, they present him with fowls that they pretend to be his share of their gain when gambling in his name. At the end, however, they pretend to have lost a large amount of money. As the sultan had shared in their gain, he is now forced to share in their loss.

(5) As the sultan’s soldiers pass a bridge, they push the donkey of an old man into the water, and all of his goods are lost. Offered a compensation, the old man at first requests the true value of his goods. When he learns that

the sultan himself is there, however, he asks that his donkey's harness also be refunded and convinces the sultan to pay a large amount of money.

(6) A beggar dresses up and joins of group of noblemen who are to receive presents from the sultan. The sultan asks the noblemen one after the other about their lineage and gives them modest presents. When it is the beggar's turn, he claims to be the archangel Gabriel and receives a sumptuous present. As the noblemen protest, the sultan makes them understand in a jocular manner that the number of noblemen is unlimited, but so far he has never seen Gabriel come to his court.

(7) A man comes to the sultan claiming that he had a dream in which the sultan presented him with just about everything he could ask for. The sultan asks his vizier for advice as to what to do and is told to act as he did in the man's dream. After the man has received his present, he returns and asks what he should do if he has the same dream again. He is told that a dream like this is only interpreted in this manner once in a lifetime.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 230b–233a.

No version of the compilation of anecdotes in a copy of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* has been documented so far.

Comment

The second item of this compilation of anecdotes on the generosity of Sultan Maḥmūd is documented in the twenty-third chapter of the ethical work *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, compiled by the fifteenth-century Persian author Ḥusayn b. Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504).[2] The third item corresponds partly to ATU 928: *Planting for the Next Generation* (Elisheva Schoenfeld, "Bäume für die nächste Generation," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 1, cols. 1391–1392), a tale that is first attested in Jewish sources. In Persian versions, the anecdote is typically attributed to the Sasanian emperor Khusraw I Anūshīrvān (r. 531–579), who personifies the ideal of the just ruler (see also Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 2, p. 208, no. 75). An early Persian version is contained in chapter 36 of the mirror for princes, *Sīyāsāt-nāma* (The book of government; also known as *Siyar al-mulūk*, The lives of

the kings), compiled by the Seljuk vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (1018–1092); see Khvāja Niẓām al-Mulk, *Sīyar al-mulūk* (*Sīyāsāt-nāma*), 3rd ed., ed. Hubert Darke (Tehran: Shirkat-i ʿilmī va farhangī, 1372/1993), pp. 175–176. ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* contains two versions, one attributed to Anūshīrvān (bk. 3, chap. 3, no. 2 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1561) and another attributed to Hārūn al-Rashīd (bk. 1, chap. 16 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 887; see also Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Rosenöl: Sagen und Kunden des Morgenlandes*, vol. 2 [Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1813], p. 85, no. 49, and pp. 284–285, no. 154). The Persian mystical poet ʿAṭṭār (d. probably 617/1220) treats the anecdote in his *Ilāhī-nāma* (Book of God; see Hellmut Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul: Men, the World and God in the Stories of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār*, trans. John O'Kane [Leiden: Brill, 2003], p. 326). In classical Persian literature and poetry, the idea expressed by the phrase "Others planted so we may eat, and we plant so others may eat" (*dīgarān kāshtand mā khordīm, mā mīkārim dīgarān bekhorand*) has achieved a proverbial status (see ʿAlī-Akbar Dihkhudā, *Amṯāl va ḥikam* [Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, ca. 1979], vol. 2, p. 849).

37. Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī, the Miser, and the Caravan

An old custom has it that when a caravan passes the grave of Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī, a person who was renowned for his generosity, the people should hold a banquet in Ḥātim's honor. The leader of a caravan sees Ḥātim in his dream. Ḥātim praises him for respecting the old custom and curses a miser who had refused to slaughter his camel at the occasion. The next day, the miser's camel is found dead. Suddenly Ḥātim's son ʿAdī appears and gives the company ten live camels for each of the camels they slaughtered. When they travel on, the miser is forced to continue on foot.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 233a–234a.

No version of the tale in a copy of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* has been documented so far.

Comment

In the learned and popular literatures of the Muslim world, the sixth-century Arab poet Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī is proverbial for his generosity and magnanimity. Similar anecdotes about Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī abound, a close analogue being mentioned in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 2, chap. 11, no. 19 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1372)

38. The Muslim, the Jew, and the Kadi of Ḥimṣ

A Jew lends money to a Muslim on the condition that, should the borrower not be able to repay his debt, the creditor would be entitled to cut a clearly defined amount of flesh from his body. When the time has come and the Muslim is not able to repay his debt, the Jew asks him to fulfill the condition. The first two judges they consult decide that he is right, but the Muslim does not accept. Finally, they both agree to accept the judgment of the judge in the city of Ḥimṣ.

On the way, several accidents happen, the consequences of which the Muslim is asked to compensate for. He throws a stone in order to stop a horse that is running away and kicks out one of its eyes; he accidentally kills a man by jumping on his belly; he causes a woman to have a miscarriage; and he pulls a donkey's tail so hard that the tail comes off.

When they reach the city of Ḥimṣ, they find the supervisor of the market totally drunk. As they enter the judge's house, they witness a young man screwing the judge, who is crawling on all fours. In the mosque, they see people gambling.

When the judge is ready to receive them, he passes his judgment. The Jew is to cut exactly the stipulated amount of flesh from the creditor's body. As the Jew is not able to do so, he is made to pay a fine so as to compensate for the illegal agreement he had made. The horse whose eye has been lost should be cut in half. The owner should keep one half, and the defendant should pay half of the horse's original value. As the horse's owner is not willing to accept the judgment, he is made to pay a fine, as are all of the following plaintiffs. The man whose brother has accidentally been killed should go to the roof of a high building and jump on the defendant's belly. The man whose wife had a miscarriage should deliver her to the defendant

so that he can make her pregnant again. And the man whose donkey has lost its tail should pull off the tail of the judge's donkey.

After the judge has shared the received fines with the defendant, the man asks the judge about the strange scenes they witnessed when entering the city, and the judge explains. The supervisor of the market is responsible for supervising the taverns and needs to control the quality of the wine in person. The mosque is rented to the gamblers so that the revenue can be used for its maintenance. And the young man who had screwed the judge was a ward who had asked to be given his inheritance, so the judge needed definitive proof that he had come of age.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 234a–236a; German translation together with the Ottoman text by Vámbéry, "Der orientalische Ursprung von Shylock"; French translation of the text from both *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde* (probably from the Munich manuscript dated 914/1508) and *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (from an early seventeenth-century manuscript, probably in Paris) by Jean-Adolphe Decourdemanche, "Le marchand de Venise dans les contes orientaux," *Revue des traditions populaires* 19, no. 11 (1904): 449–460.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: C, no. 34; E_1, no. 53 (added in a different hand); E_2, no. 53.

Comment

The tale is a traditional combination of ATU 890: *A Pound of Flesh* (Hannjost Lixfeld, "Fleischpfand," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 4, cols. 1256–1262) and ATU 1534: *Series of Clever Unjust Decisions* (Jurjen van der Kooi, "Schemjaka: Urteile des S.," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 11, cols. 1356–1362). According to Lixfeld, the present version belongs to a particular redaction of the tale that was first documented in the German Meistergesang *Kaiser Karls Recht*, dated 1443 (correct 1493; quoting *Das Ambraser Liederbuch vom Jahr 1582*, ed. Joseph Bergmann [Stuttgart, 1845], pp. 167–171, no. 138). The tale is well documented from

modern Persian (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. 1534) and Turkish (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, nos. 296, 297) oral tradition.

39. Bānū and Dustūr, the Son of the King of China

Strolling around in the park, beautiful Bānū, the daughter of the knight Hūrīn in Damascus, happens to meet Dustūr, the son of the king of China, and they fall deeply in love. At first, however, Bānū playfully wards off the young man's advances, and only gradually do they come close to each other. When Bānū's father reveals to her that she has been promised to a young man from Iran, Bānū runs away and joins Dustūr in secret. Her future husband leaves, as he feels unwanted. When Bānū mentions to Dustūr that she pities the young man, Dustūr reproaches her heavily for actually loving that man, and she leaves him, heading for Bagdad. Thinking that she has joined the other man, Dustūr marries another woman. But then an apparition of Bānū reminds him of his true love, and he never even sees his bride's face. In the meantime, Bānū has fallen sick in Bagdad, and Bānū's mother informs Dustūr about her state. Dustūr travels to Bagdad and asks Bānū to forgive him. He divorces his wife and marries Bānū, and they live together happily until their death.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 236a–238a.

No version of the tale in a copy of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* has been documented so far.

40. Sīmjūr and Chīpūr

Chīpūr, the son of a powerful ruler, is made to learn a profession. He learns how to weave cane mats. When he is out hunting one day, he loses his way and comes to a foreign town. He is taken in by a man who locks him up in a room with some other men. His comrades reveal to him that the man is a Jewish soap boiler who intends to kill them one by one and boil them to

prepare soap. As Chīpūr knows how to weave beautiful mats, the Jew lets him live, and Chīpūr prepares a mat that the Jew is to present to the ruler Sīmjūr in order to gain his benevolence. Carefully looking at the mat, the ruler's entourage recognizes a band of Kufic writing that reveals Chīpūr's situation. Chīpūr and the other prisoners are freed, and the Jew is executed.

The ruler's daughter wants to marry only the man who is able to defeat her in playing chess. Numerous men whom she has vanquished have already lost their heads. Chīpūr defeats her, but even so, she does not give in, as she presumes Chīpūr to be poor. Although Sīmjūr urges his daughter to accept her destiny, she convinces him to send Chīpūr away in order to earn riches, and Chīpūr leaves with seven loads of aloe wood.

Chīpūr comes to a foreign town inhabited by cheaters. The first cheater, a man who sells mutton heads, convinces him that in this region they use aloe as cheap firewood and promises to give him a head for two of his loads. The second cheater, a tanner, cheats him out of another two loads for the promise of some leather. And the third one, a gardener, relieves him of the remaining three loads in return for the promise of some seed. On Chīpūr's way to town, an old woman regains her eyesight by running his stick of aloe over her eyes. She takes him in and advises him how to take revenge.

Following the old woman's advice, Chīpūr spends the night close to the residence of the chief of the cheaters. As the cheaters visit their chief, informing him of their clever deeds, the chief scolds them for carelessly having promised something that might get them into severe trouble. For the leather promised by the tanner, Chīpūr might request skin from the cheater's neck. For the head promised by the seller of mutton heads, he might request the cheater's head. And for the seed promised by the gardener, he might request flea seed. Using this information, Chīpūr convinces the cheaters to return his goods to him and sells them for loads of gold. When he leaves the town, the old woman advises him to fix the shoes of his mules backward so that his adversaries will be cheated into losing trace of him.

When Chīpūr returns to Sīmjūr, the ruler convinces his daughter to marry Chīpūr, and together they travel back to Chīpūr's country. When his father dies, Chīpūr is installed as the new ruler.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 238a–242a.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: C, no. 51; E_1, no. 33; E_2, no. 32.

Comment

The tale's first episode corresponds to ATU 888 A*: *The Basket Maker*, the earliest known version of which is documented in ʿAwfī's *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (bk. 3, chap. 4, no. 7 = Niẓámu'd-dín, *Introduction*, no. 1577). Literary versions in Persian include those in Barkhurdār b. Maḥmūd Farāhī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, pp. 30/-4–33/-7 (Rehatsek, *Amusing Stories*, pp. 1–7, no. 1; Clouston, *Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, pp. 434–441); in Hablarūdī's *Jāmiʿ al-tamṯīl*, ed. Ẕū 'l-faqārī, pp. 291–303; and in F, pp. 320–312, no. 20 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 60–61, no. 20.

In the context of the *1001 Nights*, the episode is included in the Wortley-Montague manuscript (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 416–417, no. 390; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 72–75, no. 239; Burton, *Arabian Nights*, Suppl. 5, pp. 213–228; Tauer, *Neue Erzählungen*, pp. 515–527). The text in the Mardrus translation (see Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 140–141, no. 477) has been adapted from Guillaume Spitta-Bey's *Contes arabes modernes* (Leiden: Brill, 1883), pp. 94–104, no. 7 (see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 9, p. 83).

ATU 888 A* is also documented from Turkish (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 231; see also no. 208 [5]), Persian (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. *888 B), Arabic (El-Shamy, *Types*, no. 0888A*), and various other Near Eastern (and European) oral traditions.

The intermediary motif of the princess who will marry only a man who is able to defeat her is the central motif of the tale of Turandot (ATU 851: *The Princess Who Cannot Solve the Riddle*; Goldberg, "Rätselprinzessin"). A young woman who challenges her suitor to defeat her at chess also appears in the *1001 Nights* tale of *Masrûr and Zayn al-Mawâsif* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 294 –295, no. 232; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 82–84, no. 251) and in the tale of *Qamar al-Zamān and Badr al-Budūr* that the Syrian Christian Ḥannā Diyāb

narrated to Galland on May 6, 1709 (Antoine Galland, *Le journal d'Antoine Galland (1646–1715): La période parisienne*, vol. 1, ed. Frédéric Bauden and Richard Waller [Leuven: Peeters, 2011], pp. 322–325).

The tale's final episode corresponds to ATU 978: *The Youth in the Land of Cheaters* (Christine Goldberg, "Stadt der Gauner," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 12, cols. 1136–1140), versions of which are contained in the *Sindbād-nāma* and in the Calcutta edition of the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 359–360, no. 205; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 8, pp. 60–62, no. 26).

41. The Bārbāh of Balīnās and Bukhtnaṣr's Vizier

In order to protect Egypt against its enemies, the wise Balīnās (Appolonios) erects the magic obelisk Bārbāh. Should an enemy approach, the hieroglyphs on the obelisk's side facing the enemy will start to move, indicating the direction from which the enemy approaches. And should the enemy invade the country, one can touch the obelisk with a stone so that a fire from between the two stones will destroy the enemy.

In a later period, a group of Egyptian sorcerers use magic to bring the daughter of the Babylonian ruler Bukhtnaṣr (Nebuchadnezzar) to them at night to serve them. As the young woman does not know where she is being brought at night, her father, Bukhtnaṣr, asks her to bring some fruits and flowers back from the place. Identifying the fruits and flowers, they find out that she is being brought to Egypt. Although Bukhtnaṣr wants to take revenge, he is afraid of the Bārbāh, and so his vizier promises to destroy the magic protection.

As the vizier arrives in Egypt, the images on the Bārbāh's sides start to move, but since the people do not see any enemies, they do not take any action. The vizier gains the trust of the priest serving the Bārbāh, marries his daughter, and after the priest's death inherits his position. Although his wife at first doubts his intentions, she later reveals to him that the Bārbāh can be destroyed by being sprayed with a mixture of three liquids: vaginal fluid, the blood of menstruation, and amniotic fluid. Having destroyed the Bārbāh, the vizier is about to be discovered. His wife and his mother-in-law help him escape by seating him on a camel, placing him in a trough on a

pond, and finally placing him inside (the dead body of) a crocodile. The Egyptian soothsayers understand him to have fled the country, crossed a river, and been devoured by a crocodile, so they believe there is nothing they need to do.

The vizier informs Bukhtnaṣr about the Bārbāh's destruction, and Bukhtnaṣr invades Egypt. One of the sorcerers whom he traps flees by magically submerging himself in the water. Aiming to devastate Egypt completely, the Babylonian army is ordered to procure sperm from the male population. The sperm is filled into barrels, into which they throw female serpents. This procedure results in the production of hundreds of thousands of basilisks. Whoever looks at them or hears their cry dies. In this way, Egypt is completely devastated.

Bukhtnaṣr distributes his realm among his sons. To the eldest son, he gives Iran, and to the second, Tūrān. When the youngest is sad at not having received his own realm, the vizier advises him to request the rule of Egypt. As the people settle in Egypt, they bring along owls whose cry kills the basilisks. The Bārbāh is still in place but has lost its power.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 242a–244a.

No version of the tale in a copy of *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* has been documented so far.

Comment

The motif of the girl's nocturnal abduction by magic (Mot. D 1426) is also known from modern Turkish oral tradition (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 208 III, no. 219). It figures prominently in the European tale type ATU 562: *The Spirit in the Blue Light*. According to Elisabeth Tucker, "Geist im blauen Licht," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 5, cols. 928–933, the motif is first documented in the thirteenth-century *Bonum universale de apibus* (2,57,18) by Thomas Cantipratanus.

Although the mythical basilisk is traditionally imagined as a kind of serpent, the particular procedure for its creation described in this text is not

known from any other source.

42. Akhī Khurdak and the Much-Traveled Man

The poor vendor Akhī Khurdak has the habit of entertaining travelers in his house. One day, a much-traveled man claims that he has visited more countries than anybody else. Challenged by Akhī Khurdak, the man admits, however, that he has never been to the city of Maʿdan. In order to remedy this shortcoming, he sets out immediately.

The man boards a ship and reaches a mountain on whose top there is a large fountain springing high up into the air. He climbs uphill and finds the fountain's water to be as soft as oil and as sweet as honey. When a large bird alights on the mountain, he holds onto one of its claws and is taken to a far-away place. As he returns with the bird the next day, his fellow travelers reproach him for being late, and he decides to stay on the mountain. Leaving the mountain some days later, he arrives at a big city.

The man watches a crowd of people leave the town carrying two coffins. When he approaches the city wall at midnight, he is hailed as the new ruler. The city's inhabitants have the custom of proclaiming as their new ruler the first stranger who arrives after the death of their previous ruler. He learns that he is, in fact, in the city of Maʿdan.

The man marries and leads a happy life for some days. When his wife dies soon after, he learns about the people's custom of burying the ruler's wife alive together with the deceased ruler, and vice versa. As he is buried in a vault together with his deceased wife, he finds that the previous ruler's wife is still alive. They marry, and over the years she gives birth to two sons. The coffins contain some food and there is water to be found, and so they manage to survive. One day, the man sees a large serpent feeding on the bodies of the dead. When the serpent leaves, he attaches a rope to a coffin and follows the serpent until he reaches the surface. The serpent crawls into a tree, and he burns it. Together with his wife and children, he leaves the vault.

When the man's wife is washing old clothes at the seashore, she is abducted by the people aboard a Frankish vessel. Looking for her, the man traverses a river, carrying one of his sons. As he returns to fetch his second

son, the first one is carried away by a wolf. Hurrying across the river, the man stumbles, and the water carries away his second son. His first son is rescued by a shepherd and the other one by a fisherman. Both children receive a good education.

One day, the man learns about the arrival of a beautiful slave girl on a ship. The slave girl happens to be his wife. She recognizes him and asks a bell woman to give him one of her precious jewels so that he can buy her. The man, however, loses the jewel, which is swallowed by a fish. In deep sorrow, the man leaves the city and wanders around. His wife gives the bell woman another jewel so that she can buy her. From then on, she lives in the bell woman's house. After some time, the wife masquerades as a man and opens a shop in the bazaar. Soon the rumor of her magnanimity and generosity spreads.

One day, the well-traveled man arrives offering her a fish he has caught. The fish contains the lost jewel. Her other guests, the city's Kadi and the vizier, talk about the time when they had been saved by the shepherd and the fisherman and relate the misfortune they experienced having been deposed from office. The parents recognize their children, and all of them rejoice at being reunited. They live happily until they die.

Texts and Translations

Ferec baʿd eş-şidde, fol. 244a–247a; a short summary of the tale from an oral performance is given in Galland's Constantinople diary; see Galland, *Journal*, ed. Schefer, vol. 2, pp. 45–46; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, p. 165, no. 327 C.

Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt: F, pp. 31–42, no. 2 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 25–27, no. 2.

Comment

Referring to the summary given in Galland's Constantinople diary, the tale has been analyzed in detail by Maurice Pomerantz, "Tales from the Crypt: On Some Uncharted Voyages of Sindbād the Sailor," *Narrative Culture* 3, no. 1 (2015): 250–269; and Marzolph, "A Scholar in the Making."

The motif of husband and wife being buried together (Mot. S 123.2) figures prominently in the fourth voyage of Sindbād the seafaring merchant (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 396, no. 179; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 7, pp. 18–20, no. 373 D). An early Persian version of the motif is contained in the historical work *Mujmal al-tavārīkh*, compiled early in the twelfth century; see Ulrich Marzolph, "An Early Persian Precursor to the Tales of Sindbād the Seafaring Merchant," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (forthcoming). The motif also figures in the thirteenth vizier's story in the Ottoman Turkish *Forty Viziers* (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 8, p. 130, no. 121 = vol. 7, pp. 74–77; Sheykh-Zāda, *History of the Forty Vezirs*, pp. 154–155, no. 25) and in the *Tale of Āzādbakht* that is embedded in the Urdu romance *Bāgh o Bahār* (Mir Amman of Dihli, *Bagh o Bahar*, pp. 240–246). The motif also appears, albeit marginally, in a modern Turkish folktale (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 120 [8–9])

In European folktales, the motif occurs at the beginning of tale type ATU 612: *The Three Snake-Leaves*, in which the husband resuscitates his wife by following the method demonstrated to him by a serpent (Mot. B 511.1; Christine Goldberg, "Schlangenblätter: Die drei S.," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 12, cols. 50–54), albeit with a different sequel (for which, see C, no. 23; Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 79, no. 432: *ʻAdîla*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 8, pp. 119–120, no. 104). In Persian tradition, the combination of Mot. S 123.2 and Mot. B 511.1 is documented in *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, manuscript F, pp. 610–612, no. 41 = Haag-Higuchi, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 105–106, no. 41.

The tale's final cluster of episodes corresponds to tale type ATU 938: *Placidas* (Helmut Fischer, "Placidas," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 10, cols. 1069–1074), several versions of which are also contained in the *1001 Nights* (Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 234, no. 174: *The Island King and the Pious Israelite*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, p. 161, no. 325; Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 298, no. 270: *The Merchant and His Sons*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 166–167, no. 327 E; vol. 8, p. 80, no. 50; Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 259–260, no. 316: *The King Who Lost His Kingdom*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, pp. 164–165, no. 327 B; Marzolph and Van Leeuwen, *Arabian*

Nights Encyclopedia, vol. 1, p. 256, no. 408: *The Tale of Himself Told by the King*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vol. 6, p. 162, no. 326). ATU 938 is also well documented from modern Persian (Marzolph, *Typologie*, no. 938) and Turkish (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen*, no. 136) oral tradition.

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